

INVADING SEXUALITY: PERCEPTION AND RESPONSE
IN POSTWAR JAPAN, 1945-1957

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Submitted to the graduate degree program in History and the Graduate Faculty of the University of Kansas in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

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Abstract

This dissertation examines Japan during the Allied Occupation and the intersection of Occupation goals for remaking Japan into a peaceful, democratic nation with domestic constructs of sexuality. This study demonstrates how prostitution, sex education, birth control, and obscenity served as crucial lenses to understand how the occupier and occupied attempted to shape sexuality within a complex Occupation power structure incorporating both the victorious Allied Forces and the defeated Japanese government. Rather than proposing a narrative of a dominant occupier subjugating the occupied, this dissertation shows how that dual-power structure allowed Japanese politicians and activists to undermine Occupation reform in order to mitigate perceived negative influences upon domestic notions of proper sexuality and reaffirm a Japanese-constructed sexuality for post-Occupation sovereign Japan.

Acknowledgements

I am indebted to a number of people who have helped me make the completion of this project possible. First, I must recognize my co-advisors, Dr. William Tsutsui and Dr. Megan Greene, for their unwavering patience and invaluable guidance spanning many years. I must also recognize my dissertation defense committee: Dr. Tsutsui, Dr. Greene, Dr. Ben Uchiyama, Dr. Jeff Moran, and Dr. Akiko Takeyama, who have all supported my scholarship and encouraged me endlessly. For their additional guidance, instruction, and encouragement I should also thank the following important people: Dr. Eric Rath, Dr. Victor Bailey, Dr. Michael Baskett, Dr. Ryōko Kodama, Dr. Ted Wilson, Dr. Greg Pflugfelder, Dr. Anne Allison, Dr. Patricia Graham, Dr. Wendy Lucas, Michiko Ito, Alison Miller, the staff of the KU Center for East Asian Studies, the staff at KU's Hall Center for the Humanities, and the staff of the KU History Department.

I am particularly grateful for funding assistance for language study and material acquisition from the Department of Education, the KU Center for East Asian Studies, the KU History Department, and KU's Hall Center for the Humanities. Without their aid, this project would not have been possible.

Nothing has taught me the value of friendship more than writing a dissertation, so I must thank the following people for their friendship, encouragement, and sympathetic ears. Without these people in my life, dissertation writing would have been lonely indeed: Sally Utech, Shelly Cline, Jeremy Prichard, Ethan Schmidt, Ryan Gaston, Brady DeSanti, Lisa Onaga, Max Ward, Franz Hofer, Kristen Epps, Vaughn Scribner, Neil Oatsvall, Chikako Mochizuki, Mindy Landeck, J. Arthur Biersack, Kathy Porsch, Sam Pierron, Brian Friedman, Jason Royer, M. Kendall Day, Dave Toland, Mike Gaughan, and Keith Henderson. I could not wish for a better cohort.

I can never fully acknowledge the love, support, and patience that my family has shown to me during this journey: my mother, Susan, whose strength and courage drives me to move forward in the face of adversity; my father, Ted, whose commitment to family and values toward education have always inspired me; my sister, Allyson, who has always been in my corner during the best and worst of times; and my niece, Desiree, who is a role model for how to approach life fearlessly. Most of all, I must thank my loving wife Chiyo and my daughter Tomoko. I will always be grateful for their faith in me and their patience while I chased my dream. I could never have finished without their love and support and I assure them both that all those times I was away writing, I wanted to be home with them.

Finally, I must offer a special thank you to Rutger Hauer. In no small way, the seed of this dissertation started with him asking me to join his HIV/AIDS charity, the Rutger Hauer Starfish Association. His dedication to helping the least fortunate in a world that has embraced him as an actor and humanitarian is truly inspiring and I am honored to call him a friend. I look forward to the next time we can chat over a glass of Macallan single malt.

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Introduction: Invading Sexuality: Perception and Response in Postwar Japan, 1945-1957

On May 13 of 2013, Osaka Mayor Hashimoto Tōru came under international fire for comments he made to the press about the inevitability of Japan's wartime "comfort women" system and for his suggestion that frequenting sex trade venues might help stem outbreaks of sexual violence by United States Armed Forces members on Okinawa. His comments treaded a fine line between explaining the perceived necessity of the coercive wartime prostitution system and promoting outreach and kindness to its victims: "When soldiers are risking their lives by running through storms of bullets, and you want to give these emotionally charged soldiers a rest somewhere, it's clear you need a comfort woman system," he said. Brothels, he went on to state, "were necessary at the time [during World War II] to maintain discipline in the army." To mitigate his stance, he continued by describing the brothels as a "tragedy of war" and urged kindness toward surviving "comfort women" today.¹

Hashimoto's comments brought international condemnation. US State Department spokesperson Jen Psaki called the comments "outrageous and offensive...what happened in that era to these women who were trafficked for sexual purposes is deplorable and clearly a grave human rights violation of enormous proportions."² Two surviving "comfort women" from South Korea, Kim Bok-dong and Kil Won-ok, cancelled a planned meeting with the mayor and released a joint statement in response: "We cannot compromise our painful past as victims and the reality that we still live today...we don't need to be trampled on again." Domestically, protester Kamenaga Nobuko, attending a rally outside Osaka City Hall demanding an apology

¹ Hiroko Tabuchi, "Women Forced into WWII Brothels Served Necessary Role, Osaka Mayor Says," *New York Times*, May 13, 2013, accessed November 7, 2013, http://www.nytimes.com/2013/05/14/world/asia/mayor-in-japan-says-comfort-women-played-a-necessary-role.html?_r=0

² "Japan mayor's sex slave remakes 'outrageous' – US," *BBC News*, May 16, 2013, accessed November 7, 2013, <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-asia-22564349>

from Hashimoto, said, “I cannot stand thinking that women were taken against their will, held captive for 24 hours a day, and forced into sex slavery for the Japanese military.”³ Domestically, political opponents jumped on the mayor’s comments, hoping to diminish Hashimoto’s popularity as the leader of a populist startup political party, the Japan Restoration Association. President of the Democratic Party of Japan, Kaieda Banri, chastised Hashimoto saying, “The comfort women system was not necessary,” and that Japan’s wartime aggression “is a fact we must face up to.”⁴

The backlash against Hashimoto’s comments was swift and decidedly negative, in part because his expressed views aligned with other similarly revisionist political commentary on the “comfort women” issue from pundits in recent years. In particular, then-Prime Minister Abe Shinzō had received similar condemnation after his March 1, 2007 comments denying that sex slaves for Japan’s imperial forces existed during World War II. Abe’s words prompted an official parliamentary apology on March 27 of that year. While Hashimoto’s more recent comments did not go as far as Abe’s in denying the forced servitude of the women filling the brothels, he argued for the utility of such a system in offering a recreational outlet to overly stressed soldiers to maintain military discipline.

While the international press was quick to report Hashimoto’s stance on wartime “comfort women,” they were less enthusiastic to report on another controversial topic he broached that day. Relegated to a short aside or treated as a separate story completely by the press were a number of comments that Hashimoto voiced in regard to sexual crime rates among US armed forces members stationed in Okinawa: “There are places where people can legally release their sexual energy in Japan... Unless they make use of these facilities, it will be difficult

³ “‘Comfort women’ snub Japan Osaka Mayor Hashimoto,” *BBC News*, May 24, 2013, accessed November 7, 2013, <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-asia-22650673>

⁴ Tabuchi, “Women Forced into WWII Brothels”

to control the sexual energies of the wild Marines...they need to think about a way to release that energy.”⁵

The press’ characterization of these events raises important questions: Why did some press coverage treat the topics of comfort women and US military use of brothels separately rather than connecting them? Why did media reports focus more on the comfort women comments than on the brothel comments? Most importantly, what are the connections between Hashimoto’s views on the need for a wartime comfort women system and his attempt to protect Okinawan women from sex crimes by suggesting US forces use brothels to meet sexual needs?

Hashimoto was condemned both domestically and internationally for holding views that were outside the mainstream. I contend, however, that far from being a lone-wolf, Hashimoto and his views were in complete alignment with the views of Japanese political powers during both the wartime and postwar periods that saw sexuality as both a threat in circumstances where it could not be tamed, and a defensive weapon that could be deployed as a means to protect Japanese notions of decorum and purity and to promote social order. This dissertation explores how those beliefs contributed to Japanese efforts to preserve domestic constructs of proper sexuality within the context of surrender and subjugation under the U.S.-led occupation.

Perception and Response

This dissertation is less an examination of reform stemming from intercultural understanding and informed decision-making, than an examination of how Japan’s foreign occupiers and their intentions were perceived by Japanese political actors, and how those perceptions informed policy decisions meant to limit foreign influence on sexuality. Often,

⁵ Erik Slavin, “Osaka Mayor: ‘Wild Marines’ should consider using prostitutes,” *Stripes Okinawa*, May 14, 2013, accessed November 7, 2013, <http://www.stripes.com/news/pacific/bad-behavior-in-the-pacific/osaka-mayor-wild-marines-should-consider-using-prostitutes-1.220845>

Japanese responses to Occupation reform and attempts to mitigate the influence of those reforms were based on assumptions, preconceived gender tropes, and conjecture toward the motivations behind Occupation reform (or, at times, unwillingness to reform) rather than a deep understanding of cultural or political concerns informing those reforms. By placing those perceptions within the context of a military occupation of Japan's homeland by its most recognizable wartime enemy, perception becomes more than a simple means to make judgments about the intent of reforms. Instead, perception becomes the foundation upon which Japanese political and social actors created a narrative of resistance against potentially negative foreign influence on constructs of proper sexuality within the context of the US-led Occupation.

This is not to minimize the amount of power held by the Occupation authorities over Japan's political, military, and social future. By accepting the Potsdam Declaration's terms of unconditional surrender, Japan's imperial government not only put itself in a subordinate position, but did so with the understanding that the ensuing occupation forces would have *carte blanche* in all matters. To underscore that position, at the instrument of surrender ceremony on the *U.S.S. Missouri* in Tokyo Bay, Supreme Commander of Allied Powers (SCAP) Douglas MacArthur chose to display two specific and symbolic U.S. flags. The first, the flag flying above the White House at the time of the Pearl Harbor attack in 1941, and the second, Commodore Matthew Perry's stars and stripes flying on his ship *Powhatten* when his fleet arrived in 1853 to establish trade relations with Japan. Metaphorically, the two flags symbolized the continuity of American power over a weaker Japan, but also trumpeted a fresh start for the defeated nation. Just as Perry's ships signaled the arrival of western imperialism and a new chapter in Japan's development, the American warships promised an equally new chapter in Japan's history.

Perry never sought to make a formal colony of Japan, but secured treaty agreements to reap benefits similar to those that an empire would gain from a colonial possession without the administrative responsibility or the costs involved in running one. MacArthur did not have the same luxury. Japan would be made into a pacifist, democratic nation while under military occupation from a foreign power. A wealth of literature on the mechanisms of the Occupation and the reforms it undertook has emerged in recent years.⁶ In particular, John Dower's *Embracing Defeat* expertly describes the role of MacArthur and his command, explaining that they "ruled their new domain as neocolonial overlords, beyond challenge or criticism, as inviolate as the emperor and his officials had ever been. They epitomized hierarchy – not merely vis-à-vis the defeated enemy, but within their own rigidly layered ranks as well as by their white-men's rule"⁷ It was clear from the moment of surrender that MacArthur and his staff would be in full control and that control would need to be swift, orderly, and exemplify what is right about democracy while removing what was ill about Japan's fascism. Sarah Kovner's recent examination of sex work in occupied Japan, too, emphasizes the all-powerful authority vested in the Occupation authority, calling it an "empire" controlling a "subordinated society."⁸

What was equally clear, however, was that SCAP was ill-equipped to run Japan alone. MacArthur lacked the sheer numbers of personnel to oversee reform while maintaining domestic security and governing society at all levels. Moreover, SCAP suffered from a serious lack of experts with cultural and linguistic knowledge to understand and be understood by Japanese

⁶ See, for example, John Dower, *Embracing Defeat: Japan in the Wake of World War II*, (New York: Norton, 1999); Eiji Takemae, *The Allied Occupation of Japan* (New York: Continuum, 2002); Mire Koikari, *Pedagogy of Democracy: Feminism and the Cold War in the U.S. Occupation of Japan*, (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2009); Michael Molasky, *The American Occupation of Japan and Okinawa: Literature and Memory* (New York: Routledge, 2001); Sarah Kovner, *Occupying Power: Sex Workers and Servicemen in Postwar Japan*, (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2012), Mark McLelland, *Love, Sex, and Democracy in Japan during the American Occupation*, (New York: Plgrave Macmillan, 2012)

⁷ Dower, *Embracing Defeat*, 27

⁸ Kovner, *Occupying Power*, 9

bureaucrats and civilians alike. As a result, SCAP would have no alternative but to rule indirectly by using existing structures of government, existing domestic public service institutions like police and fire, and even Emperor Hirohito to enact SCAP reforms, communicate them to organs of government, and justify those reforms to the public while maintaining social order all in the name of democratic tutelage. Dower calls this necessary structure a “two-tiered mandarinat” with Japan’s subordinate mandarins carrying on rule after the promised restoration of sovereignty once the goals of the occupation were met.⁹

This dissertation does not refute the supreme Occupation authority over Japan’s political and social institutions. It is clear from the terms of unconditional surrender that Japan’s imperial government acquiesced to a subordinate position under Japan’s occupiers. However, this dissertation attempts to dig beneath the trope of the dominant occupier dictating reform to the occupied subordinate. I contend that such a binary is too simplistic and assumes the Occupation dictated reform with little agency vested in Japan’s government. SCAP authorities were underinformed on Japan’s cultural practices and the logistical movements of existing government institutions, and thus placed considerable trust in those structures to carry out SCAP reforms in accordance with MacArthur’s wishes. This dissertation attempts to show that the dual power structure propped up by the Occupation placed considerable trust in Japanese political structures to carry out and legitimize SCAP reform. My argument is that Japanese political actors viewed the presence of SCAP as a threat to existing constructs of proper sexuality and that their role as legitimizers of SCAP reform gave them power to mitigate that perceived threat through legislative, judicial, and penal means in an attempt to propagate a Japanese sexuality while rejecting a foreign one.

⁹ Dower, *Embracing Defeat*, 27

Nowhere is the culture of resistance that emerged from the dual-power structure of the Occupation more visible than in discourse surrounding sexuality in occupied Japan. Beginning immediately after surrender, negative perceptions of western, especially American, sexuality landing on Japanese soil with the Occupation forces colored the rhetoric of Japanese officials. Mitigating the dangerous sexuality of the enemy quickly rose to the top of the list of concerns held by these officials as they prepared to govern under the foreign military rulers. Even in the years before the Pearl Harbor attack, Japanese officials looked upon western sexuality as harmful for Japanese society and acted to mitigate its influence to maintain public order. Sheldon Garon outlines how, by the mid-1930s, urban government officials and police looked to stem the rise of youth culture gravitating toward bars, night clubs, and dance halls where leisure time could be spent fraternizing with women of the opposite sex. Officials and conservative activists attributed this “sexual looseness” of Japan’s youth to the importation of “western lewd thought” and “queer foreign thought” and established movements to abolish such fraternization and support chaste moral values for Japanese youth.¹⁰ This pattern would be repeated throughout Japan’s militarist expansion and, indeed, while under foreign occupation.

At least early in the Occupation, Japanese politicians projected the capacity for destructive sexual behavior of Japan’s own troops in areas like Nanjing and the Philippines onto Occupation personnel, fearing similar violence in Japan. In Nanjing, Japan’s Kwantung Army raped and murdered upwards of 300,000 military and civilian Chinese in the most famous, and contentious, example of military discipline breakdown in the Pacific War. Nanjing being one example, rapes were common as Japan advanced deeper into Chinese territory.

¹⁰ Sheldon Garon, *Molding Japanese Minds: The State in Everyday Life*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997), 108

To combat the problem of civilian rapes in conquered territories, Japanese officials instigated the so-called “comfort women” system designed to give Japanese imperial troops a release for their sexual energy in a controlled, brothel atmosphere so as to protect civilian populations from pent up sexual urges. The women forced to staff the “comfort stations” servicing the troops came from Japan’s colonial territories with the promise that they would receive just compensation and honor for their service in exchange for their bodily sacrifice for the sake of the Japanese empire. In actuality, the “comfort women” would receive very little pay and would have no recourse or choice in when and how they would leave the service of the makeshift brothels. Many had sexual intercourse with dozens of men per day to the point where they could no longer stand, only to continue to service the waiting soldiers in line.¹¹

Fueling Japan’s perceived need for “comfort women” was a constructed view of masculinity, propped up by prewar educators who viewed male sexuality as aggressive and potentially dangerous. Without an outlet for sexual desire, male sexuality would build up and drive men to commit sexual violence against women. The “comfort women” stations connected this normative masculinity to the Imperial government, but throughout this dissertation we will see that this view of male sexuality permeated the viewpoints and actions of the greater Japanese public as well. Most notably, an overwhelmingly large proportion of the Japanese population, regardless of gender, occupation, or geographic location, supported legal prostitution during the Occupation years, often citing a “social need” for legalized prostitution claiming fears that prohibition would lead to an increase in rape within the general populace. Men, according to this viewpoint, could only behave with restraint as long as their sexual desire found a means of

¹¹ See Yuki Tanaka, *Japan’s Comfort Women: Sexual Slavery and Prostitution during World War II and the US Occupation*, (London: Routledge, 2002); George Hicks, *The Comfort Women: Sex Slaves of the Japanese Imperial Forces*, (St. Leonards: Allen & Unwin, 1995); C. Sarah Soh, *The Comfort Women: Sexual Violence and Postcolonial Memory in Korea and Japan*, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009); Yoshimi Yoshiaki, *Comfort Women*, (Columbia: Columbia University Press, 2002);

expression in a culturally accepted way, thus legal prostitution was a necessary component of a safe and orderly Japanese society.

Predictably, female sexuality would serve as a defensive line between uncontrolled male sexual desire and the greater female populace the Japanese government wanted to protect. During the war, “comfort women” represented the barrier between Imperial soldiers’ unrestrained sexual aggression and the broader female civilian populace in a conquered territory. By sacrificing their bodies, whether forced or voluntary, a group of women deemed by the Imperial government as acceptable to occupy the defensive front collectively protected other women from rape.

This dissertation examines how some Japanese women acted as a defensive barrier to protect other Japanese women from unbridled foreign male sexuality and contain its influence on Japanese constructs of proper sexual values. From the legend of Tōjin Okichi, whose story details how she broke off her engagement to enter the employ and sexual service of America’s first Consul to Japan, Townsend Harris, to the Japanese women, called the “breakwater of the nation,” employed by the state sponsored Recreation and Amusement Association (R.A.A.) to service Occupation troops, to Mayor Hashimoto’s recent remarks urging American troops in Okinawa to frequent Japanese brothels to reduce instances of rape, feminine sexuality has been celebrated by some in Japan as a defensive measure against male sexual aggression from the prewar period, through the Occupation era, and up to the present day.

I argue that Japan’s negative perceptions of the incoming occupiers was a result of projecting Japanese conceptualizations of masculinity onto Occupation personnel. Those perceptions shaped Japanese actions designed to limit perceived sexual threats posed by the presence of, mostly, American men and protect Japanese notions of proper sexuality even though

Japan would be under the authority of a foreign power. There is a small, but growing, body of literature examining sexuality during this period, most of which focuses on prostitution since it was both conspicuous and was an institution that changed dramatically under SCAP authority. Anthropologist C. Sarah Soh argues that the Occupation-era licensed prostitution system embodied by the R.A.A. was virtually identical to the “comfort women” system transposed onto occupied Japan. Soh writes on the oncoming Occupation forces and their perceived sexual threats to the Japanese public: “In light of the widespread panic and masculinist cultural assumptions about human sexual behavior, it is understandable that the Japanese government would issue an order to establish special comfort facilities for the dreaded Yankee libido.”¹² She goes on to call the R.A.A. brothels “comfort stations” and argues that their “basic structures and the way they were operated closely resembled wartime comfort stations run for the Japanese military.”¹³

Yoshimi Yoshiaki goes one step further to argue that the “comfort women” system and the R.A.A. had its roots in Japan’s long-standing licensed prostitution system in which government-licensed brothel proprietors held enforceable prostitute contracts binding women to the brothel. To Yoshimi, the R.A.A. was nothing more than “a system of sexual slavery that amounted to traffic in people, the sale of sex, and restraints on freedom.”¹⁴ Acceptance of the system, Yoshimi argues, was so widespread that “the idea of establishing comfort stations for the exclusive use of the military in war zones and occupied territories was, in a sense, natural.”¹⁵

Historian David Andrew Schmidt, too, compares the “comfort women” system to the R.A.A. and the greater licensed prostitution system, but he delves deeper into the issue to probe

¹² Sarah C. Soh, *The Comfort Women: Sexual Violence and Postcolonial Memory in Korea and Japan*, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2008) 208

¹³ Soh, *The Comfort Women*, 209

¹⁴ Yoshimi Yoshiaki, *Comfort Women: Sexual Slavery in the Japanese Military During World War II*, (New York: Columbia University Press, 1995), 203

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 205

the motivation behind the establishment of the R.A.A. in light of perceptions of American sexuality in particular. He writes,

Similar to the purpose of the *ianfu* system, women and young girls are sacrificed for the sake of an erroneously presumed social order. The American army was disciplined and there was no threat of widespread rape or disorder. Still, in light of the Imperial Army's past behavior, the transference of their own behavior is understandable. They were preparing for what they understood to be the behavior of a conquering army.¹⁶

While scholars might disagree with Schmidt's view of American discipline,¹⁷ he cuts to the heart of the Japanese imperial government's perception of the incoming Occupation forces. The Occupation forces embodied the same masculine normativity, with all the potential sexual violence that went along with it that the government attributed to its own Imperial soldiers. In addition, Schmidt voices a key issue in that the imperial government viewed the Occupation not as a liberating force, but a conquering army with all the aggression and capacity for violence that went along with a belligerent enemy. I contend that the American-led Occupation, and the male sexuality embodied by those leading it, thus posed a bodily threat to Japanese women and a grander perceived threat of displacing Japanese normative sexuality with an alien, more American one.

R.A.A. organizers, and presumably the imperial government that bankrolled the organization, rhetorically constructed the women staffing R.A.A. establishments as heroes defending the greater good with their bodies. That heroism, however, could only last as long as the R.A.A. was regulated and licensed by the government, allowing easy control over women through their contractual obligations to work for the R.A.A. Once SCAP directed the Imperial government to outlaw the licensed prostitution system in January 1946, however, the government lost control of its "breakwater for the nation" and women were free to prostitute themselves

¹⁶ David Andrew Schmidt, *Ianfu – The Comfort Women of the Japanese Imperial Army of the Pacific War: Broken Silence*, (Lewiston: Edwin Mellen Press, 2000), 107

¹⁷ See, especially, my discussion of Yuki Tanaka's work in Chapter One.

outside of brothels as streetwalking prostitutes known most commonly as *pan pan* girls. The intended clientele, for the most part, remained SCAP personnel as they brought with them a ready source of income for the *pan pan* girls. Yet, unlike the licensed system in which the government regulated brothels and identified and treated prostitutes with venereal disease to limit its proliferation, streetwalking prostitutes posed a health and moral threat to the general populace. They were unregulated and uncontrollable by the government and the status of prostitutes catering to Occupation personnel shifted from being Japanese patriots defending upstanding civilian women from the sexual savagery of the Americans to being conspicuous pariahs symbolic of the degradation of Japanese society under SCAP rule.¹⁸

Deregulated *pan pan* served as a conspicuous symbol of Japan's occupied status. Licensed prostitution traced its roots back to the 16th century, if not earlier, and represented a socially accepted outlet for male sexual desire. Non-licensed prostitution existed alongside the licensed system, but its decentralized, uncontrolled, and untaxable nature created a distinct line between what was acceptable and unacceptable within society. State support for licensed prostitution provided tacit permission for Japanese men to engage in sexual indulgence as long as it was within the confines of state-licensed brothels. Japan's post-surrender occupiers felt differently. SCAP, with chaplains leading the charge, determined that the licensing system amounted to little more than indentured servitude for sex workers. Proprietors provided women with room, board, clothing, and toiletries while imposing a contractual obligation to pay off incurred debts through sex work. This system made prostitutes dependent on proprietors for daily necessities, which in turn charged new debts to the bill, indebting the workers to the brothel

¹⁸ For more on the *pan pan* girls, see Sarah Kovner, *Occupying Power*; Mark McLelland, *Love, Sex, and Democracy in Japan*; Mire Koikari, *Pedagogy of Democracy: Feminism and the Cold War in the U.S. Occupation of Japan*, (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2008); Rumi Sakamoto, "Pan-pan Girls: Humiliating Liberation in Postwar Japanese Literature," *PORTAL Journal of Multidisciplinary International Studies*, (Vol 7., No. 2, 2010); Masakazu Tanaka, "The Sexual Contact Zone in Occupied Japan: Discourses on Japanese Prostitutes or Panpan for U.S. Military Servicemen," *Intersections: Gender and Sexuality in Asia and the Pacific*, (Issue 31, Dec. 2012)

indefinitely. SCAP chaplains argued that an occupying force with democratization and liberalization of the occupied as an operative goal could not allow a system of sexual slavery to continue. The ensuing directive (SCAPIN 642) abrogated all debts held by prostitutes and outlawed the licensing system. As historian Sarah Kovner points out, however, SCAPIN 642 “did not even begin to end the sale of sex...increasingly visible amid the rubble of shattered cities, sex workers loomed even larger in government surveys, literary accounts, and the mass media, all of which document growing animus and discrimination.”¹⁹ Prostitution had become entrepreneurial and, consequently, many sex workers moved out of the brothels into the streets to bark for customers. I argue this migration presented conspicuous reminders that prostitution could no longer be relegated to the back alley and, moreover, that MacArthur and his Occupation had used their supreme powers to attack and transform accepted constructs of sexuality by outlawing a widely supported system of legal prostitution, thereby justifying the government’s view that foreign sexuality posed a threat to domestic sexuality and required containment.

From the occupiers’ point of view, however, the movement of prostitution out of the controlled brothels and into the streets presented a perceived threat to the goals of the Occupation. Kovner argues, for example, that “U.S. commanders typically identified the source of disease as Japanese women, not U.S. servicemen. They implemented humiliating contact-tracing methods, closely questioning women about their sexual partners. And provided American servicemen with medications such as penicillin, while denying treatment to Japanese nationals”²⁰ Mire Koikari argues that fear of the decentralization of control over prostitution, and by extension venereal disease, must be understood within the context of the Cold War and President Harry Truman’s containment policies. In the Cold War context, “traditional heterosexual gender

¹⁹ Kovner, *Occupying Power*, 74

²⁰ *Ibid.*, 6

roles within the family came to be invested with new meaning and significance...those who fell outside of this familial sphere included not just ‘failed’ wives and mothers, but leftist women, prostitutes, and homosexuals.”²¹ The spread of VD among Occupation personnel as a result of fraternization with infected Japanese women threatened to undermine MacArthur’s legacy as a moral liberator, because “venereal disease was considered a sign of American soldiers’ moral, spiritual, and physical degeneration.”²²

Both Kovner and Koikari, however, tend to put too much emphasis on SCAP exercising power upon occupied Japan and generally overlook how issues such as the *pan pan* girls and venereal disease would be viewed by Japanese authorities carrying out SCAP policies and the Japanese public at large. Rumi Sakamoto, however, connects Japanese distaste for *pan pan* girls to prewar constructs of ideal femininity.²³ They were brazen, conspicuous, loud, aggressive, and altogether public in their sexuality. *Pan pan* girls failed to meet the “good wife, wise mother” gender trope that defined female subjecthood under the emperor and, while Cold War containment and demonization of *pan pan* girls by SCAP provide useful windows into Japan’s perceived VD and sexual morality problem, it is equally important to realize that Japanese distaste for streetwalkers lay in a complex connection to both the foreign occupiers’ supreme power that allowed *pan pan* girls to proliferate and a surviving Japanese lens of prewar idealized femininity.

SCAP’s policies eliminating licensed prostitution allowed illicit sexuality to enter the everyday gaze of Japanese citizens, which threatened Japanese concepts of proper, moral, and, most importantly, private sexuality. To be sure, SCAP did not create streetwalkers in Japan, as unlicensed prostitutes existed alongside their licensed counterparts prior to SCAPIN 642, but

²¹ Koikari, 20

²² Ibid., 24

²³ Sakamoto, “Pan Pan Girls,” 6-7

eliminating the licensing system made streetwalking prostitution both legal and commonplace and with the close association between *pan pan* girls and their preferred SCAP clientele, the existence of the *pan pan* girls created a unique opportunity for Japanese officials and public alike to criticize their foreign occupiers and the perceived illicit sexuality they brought to occupied Japan.

Concerns over irreversible effects of foreign sexual influence on Japan would eventually manifest in broader efforts to strengthen Japanese sexual constructs, particularly through education. For Occupation authorities, education reform was a key concern as Japan's education system since the Meiji Era acted as the imperial mouthpiece to inculcate generations of Japanese youth into service for the emperor. As Eiji Takemae writes:

Since the Meiji era, the explicit purpose of formal instruction had been to serve the Imperial state, and children were taught absolute loyalty to the Emperor, love of country and devotion to duty. Girls and young women learned 'national morality and womanly virtues'; boys were inculcated with martial values and received paramilitary training... unquestioning obedience to higher authority and self-sacrifice became supreme virtues.²⁴

SCAP education reforms would promote the virtues of democracy and free thought while attempting to expunge the emperor-centered morality that permeated the curriculum presurrender.²⁵

Reform was swift. Okano Kaori and Tsuchiya Motonori show that by January 1946 schools had suspended all moral education classes that specifically focused on defining Japanese morality for students through devotion to the emperor. In addition, Japan's Ministry of Education had overseen militaristic and religious sections of textbooks blacked out by students with ink

²⁴ Takemae, *The Occupation of Japan*, 347

²⁵ Education reform under the Occupation is relatively understudied, but for more information see: Harry Wray, "Change and Continuity in Modern Japanese Educational History: Allied Occupational Reforms Forty Years Later, *Comparative Education Review*, (Vol. 35, No. 3, Aug. 1991); Yoko H. Thakur, "History Textbook Reform in Allied Occupied Japan, 1945-52, *History of Education Quarterly*, (Vol. 35, No. 3, Autumn 1995)

until more appropriate texts could be delivered. By 1948, SCAP introduced a new constitution to govern Japan and replaced the Meiji-era Imperial Rescript on Education, which demanded students to sacrifice their lives for Japan's divine emperor, with the Fundamental Education Law that guaranteed the right to an education that emphasized peace, human rights, and upheld democratic principles in-line with the 1947 constitution.²⁶

For SCAP's part, education reform was not aimed at limiting the education system's capacity to teach sex education specifically. The imperial government, however, had enmeshed constructs of sexuality with national goals to define subjecthood. Moral education classes sought to connect female sexuality to motherhood in line with national slogans like "good wife, wise mother" (*ryōsai kenbo*) and "give birth and multiply" (*umeyo, fuyaseyo*), thus defining good female sexuality as providing children for the emperor. Furthermore, moral education presented male sexuality as an animalistic urge that needed taming. Giving in to sexual desire posed heightened risks for the spread of venereal disease that, by extension, threatened the strength of the nation.²⁷ As a result when SCAP expunged moral education classes from the curriculum, sex education also ceased.

SCAP did not order the prohibition of sex education specifically, but the absence of both moral education and sex education left many in the Japanese government uneasy. SCAPIN 642 had brought sexual fraternization between the conqueror and the conquered into the public gaze, and the Ministry of Education felt that Japanese children, in particular, were increasingly exposed to immoral models of sexual behavior through the interaction of SCAP personnel and *pan pan* girls. Without either directive or interference from SCAP, the Ministry of Education

²⁶ Kaori Okano and Motonori Tsuchiya, *Education in Contemporary Japan: Inequality and Diversity*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 30-33

²⁷ See Sabine Frühstück, *Colonizing Sex: Sexology and Social Control in Modern Japan*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003); Sheldon Garon, *Molding Japanese Minds*; Kathleen S. Uno, "Death of 'Good Wife, Wise Mother'?", in *Postwar Japan as History*, Andrew Gordon, ed., (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993)

took measures from 1947 to explore ways to return sex education to the nation's curriculum under the pseudonym "purity education" that alluded to the polluted environment that rose coeval with the Occupation. As Sonia Ryang explains:

The Ministry of Education was responsible for the formulation, promotion, and enforcement of the concept of purity education, and the object of its enlightenment was the population of female students or *joshigakusei*, a group of young, educated females that should be categorically distinguished from those involved in the sex industry and prostitution.²⁸

For Ryang, purity education would emphasize racial purity and virginity for Japan's schoolgirls as a means to both teach acceptable notions of female sexuality and reinforce that *pan pan* girls, in particular, did not meet that standard. Despite a certain parallelism to prewar rhetoric emphasizing the importance of "good wives, wise mothers" to the state, SCAP officials would have no objection to purity education and the Ministry of Education was free to explore ways to implement it into the curriculum.

I contend that purity education represents a unilateral attempt by a Japanese government entity existing under the authority of the Supreme Commander to mitigate perceived harmful elements of society that arose as a result of SCAP reform of Japan's prostitution system. SCAP was concerned with stopping movements toward reemphasizing militarism and imperial politics in education, but had no inherent objection to content within sex education classes. The Ministry of Education's impulse to use purity education as a means to promote a "Japanese" understanding of sexuality to schoolchildren to combat the public sexual environment created by the proliferation of *pan pan* girls and their fraternization with Occupation personnel surely did not escape SCAP officials, but without direct critique of MacArthur or the Occupation, SCAP officials saw no need to censor it.

²⁸ Sonia Ryang, *Love in Modern Japan: Its Estrangement from Self, Sex, and Society*, (Routledge: Milton Park, 2006), 67

Facing SCAP was a bigger concern over Japan's overpopulation. Repatriation from Japan's former colonial possessions brought increased demographic pressure on food stores, housing, and health, including the spread of venereal disease. SCAP faced increasing pressure from Japanese legislators, activists, and medical personnel to help increase access to birth control and education materials on its proper usage, especially to Japanese women who reformers, like Katō Shidzue, would gain empowerment over reproductive choices through contraceptive use.²⁹

SCAP, however, feared both domestic and international criticism were it to act on birth control as a contributory solution to overpopulation. Domestically, with "good wife, wise mother" ideals still fresh in the collective psyche of Japanese women, SCAP was wary of fostering the perception that it was dictating the demographics of its defeated enemy. Internationally, SCAP feared entering into birth control debates drawn along Protestant and Catholic religious ideals. Wading too far into the birth control issue would give the impression that SCAP looked to punitively limit the population of its defeated wartime foe and favored one religious stance or another. Instead, SCAP claimed neutrality on the issue and allowed Japanese reformers to address birth control on their own terms without interference from SCAP. Nevertheless, MacArthur himself suffered criticism when, in an attempt to limit American influence on Japan's birth control reform, SCAP denied Margaret Sanger an entry visa to Japan. Protestants from around the world blasted MacArthur for giving in to Catholic pressure and accused him of censoring important information that would allow Japanese families to make educated reproductive choices.

While SCAP moved to neither limit access to birth control nor censor educational materials about contraception, censorship of other published materials played no small part in MacArthur's mission to democratize and liberalize postwar Japan. By September 1945, SCAP

²⁹ Garon, *Molding Japanese Minds*, 185

had created a Press Code under the Civil Censorship Detachment (CCD) designed to both promote a free press while simultaneously censoring any literary speech that threatened democratic values. John Dower argues that “the thrust of CCD policy...was to weaken socialist, communist, and Marxist influence by example, through the harassment and vetting of the most influential and prestigious purveyors of such views.”³⁰ Dower lends credence to Koikari’s view that occupied Japan is best understood through the lens of Cold War containment. Ann Sherif, too, believes that the connection between Cold War ideology and artistic censorship is clear, arguing that “the Cold War agenda of the United States and its Allies had a profound effect on political and artistic discourse.”³¹ Still, there should be no mistake that CCD censors showed equal if not more concern toward eliminating fascist exultations of the emperor and expunging criticism of MacArthur and his policies from activists smarting from Japan’s surrender and the disenfranchisement of Emperor Hirohito.

With sexually explicit material, however, the CCD “had no concern with material obscene or pornographic, providing that material was not detrimental to Occupation objectives.”³² Yet, CCD policies would give way to Japan’s most famous obscenity trial, that of D.H. Lawrence’s *Lady Chatterley’s Lover*. Lawrence’s novel on World War I state impotence and individual sexual expression was no stranger to obscenity charges around the world, but as Kirsten Cather succinctly argues: “unlike the case in Britain and the United States, where the equally high-profile trials of the novel marked the beginning of ‘the end of obscenity’...in Japan they marked only the beginning.”³³ The Supreme Court decision judging *Chatterley* to be obscene would become the codified standard for legal determination of acceptable and

³⁰ Dower, *Embracing Defeat*, 435

³¹ Ann Sherif, *Japan’s Cold War: Media, Literature, and the Law*, (New York: Columbia University Press, 2009), 58

³² Sherif, *Japan’s Cold War*, 58

³³ Kirsten Cather, *The Art of Censorship in Postwar Japan*, (Honolulu: University of Hawai’i Press, 2012) 10

unacceptable sexuality in Japan following the return of its sovereignty. Under the dual-power structure present during the Occupation, the acceptability of erotica in Japan under the jurisdiction of the CCD was ambiguous as SCAP would encourage publication of translated works by western authors hoping they would help demonstrate western concepts of democracy and freedom for Japanese readers.³⁴ By passing sexually charged publications, like *Lady Chatterley's Lover*, along with non-erotic publications through official censorship channels, the CCD gave the impression that those publications were acceptable for public consumption. In fact, those publications would still fall under the jurisdiction of Japan's Meiji-era penal code, still in use under the Occupation to keep domestic peace, and publications deemed acceptable by SCAP might be deemed "obscene" by Japan's police forces under the authority of the penal code. The Supreme Court decision on *Lady Chatterley's Lover* both eliminated the ambiguity of what materials would be acceptable for public consumption in Japan and served to reestablish Japanese authority over sexuality by formulating a definition of obscenity that would steer sovereign Japan away from the influence of foreign sexuality under the Occupation and toward a Japanese-defined sexuality.

Policy surrounding prostitution, sex education, birth control, and obscenity demonstrate the complex interplay between SCAP and Japanese governmental organs that were in charge of implementing SCAP-initiated reforms. Throughout the Occupation, Japanese authorities adopted a strategy of containment, driven by the fear of American invasion changing presurrender constructs of Japanese sexuality too radically as embodied by the proliferation of conspicuous *pan pan* girls fraternizing with the foreign occupiers. Reform was the agenda for SCAP, but at least on issues involving sexuality, mitigating those reforms was the agenda for the Japanese government. For SCAP, sexuality represented a complex and nuanced issue that could neither be

³⁴ Cather, *The Art of Censorship in Postwar Japan*, 15

ignored nor completely strong-armed. MacArthur feared that attempting too much top-down reform on social issues such as expanding access to birth control for adults would feed perceptions domestically and internationally that SCAP was too heavy handed as a foreign power steering its conquered foe toward American-centered moral sexual values. Japanese politicians, however, saw SCAP's intervention in sexual matters through mechanisms such as SCAPIN 642, as deliberate attempts to influence Japanese constructs of sexuality. Japanese officials used the authority they retained under the dual-power structure of the Occupation to undermine and mitigate perceived foreign influence on Japanese sexuality throughout the Occupation.

STRUCTURE OF THE DISSERTATION

Chapter One describes the circumstances surrounding the formation of the Recreation and Amusement Association and its connection to the earliest months of the Occupation. I argue that until Occupation personnel began arriving on Japanese soil to formally begin military occupation on August 28, Japanese at all levels of society feared both the occupiers as an invading military force and the foreign sexuality they would accompany Occupation personnel. Fueling those fears was a pervasive belief that Allied soldiers would brutally rape Japan's women and both prefectural and local authorities recommended that women take refuge in remote areas of Japan. To address these fears, by late August 1945, I show how Japan's Ministry of Home Affairs funneled money into the Recreation and Amusement Association, a system of privately-run licensed brothels designed to sexually "comfort" the incoming Allied personnel. The Ministry and the viewed the brothels as a "breakwater for the nation" established to protect morally upstanding Japanese women (*yamato nadeshiko*) from the perceived savagery of the

American soldiers (*kichiku beihei*) who would be running the Occupation. In exchange for their sexual services, R.A.A. women accrued debt to brothel proprietors who provided the women with room and board, clothing, and living necessities. Licensed prostitutes were then obligated to work under contract until they repaid their debt to brothel proprietors. I show that by December 1945, however, Occupation officials, led by the Army-Navy Chaplain's Association, denounced the organization claiming that the contracts disallowed women from leaving brothels without full repayment amounting to a system of sexual slavery. In agreement, Douglas MacArthur issued SCAPIN 642, a directive to the Japanese government to outlaw the practice of licensed prostitution and to abrogate and annul all debts and contracts between licensed prostitutes and proprietors.

Chapter Two examines the consequences of SCAPIN 642 in which prostitutes could legally move out of the brothels and into the streets. I show that though licensed prostitution, and effectively the means to indenture prostitutes to brothels, was outlawed with SCAPIN 642, the directive did not outlaw prostitution outright. Instead, it allowed for brothels to remain in business and Japanese women to serve as prostitutes without contractual constraint on their ability to leave the profession. Thousands of Japanese women chose to leave the brothels and engage in streetwalking prostitution, especially in towns near Occupation bases offering a steady stream of GIs with disposable income. I argue, however, that without the oversight and access to medical care for infected prostitutes afforded by Japan's licensing system, SCAP viewed the prostitutes as both moral and health threats to their goals for the Occupation as venereal disease rates skyrocketed among Occupation personnel with diagnosed cases nearly doubling from 1946 to 1947. Japanese authorities, however, viewed the *pan pan* girls as an example of negative influence on Japanese sexuality embodied by the presence of SCAP and would toe a thin line to

try to limit the proliferation of streetwalking prostitution without eliminating publicly supported prostitution outright.

Chapter Three examines how the dual-power structure in occupied Japan created a complex environment in which SCAP reform fostered social and political perceptions that drove Japanese politicians, educators, and parents to attempt to contain foreign influence on sexuality. By exploring discourse surrounding sex education and access to birth control I argue that the proliferation of streetwalking prostitutes and their public fraternization with Occupation personnel fostered a perception that foreign expressions of sexuality had invaded along with the foreign occupiers, threatening Japanese sexuality and driving the need to mitigate that threat. For the Ministry of Education, the best route to undermine that threat was to reinforce proper notions of sexuality for Japan's youth through sex education, or "purity education." I contend that legislators, educators, and parents alike believed that streetwalking prostitutes and their interactions with Occupation customers had become a model of behavior for Japanese children as they began to mimic prostitutes' slang or performed faux solicitations with playfellows. By "playing *pan pan*," these children embodied the need for a Japanese-established sex education to reassert control over Japan's sexuality from the public display of improper sexuality resulting from SCAP reform.

Chapter Four serves examines the proliferation of erotic publications under SCAP's press code and the Supreme Court trial to determine the obscenity of D.H. Lawrence's *Lady Chatterley's Lover*. I contend that during the Occupation years, Japan's Meiji-era (1868-1912) legal measures that allowed for prosecution of sexually explicit publications remained in place, but Japanese authorities took a subordinate role to the larger censorship apparatus installed by the Supreme Commander of Allied Powers (SCAP). SCAP authorities reserved the right to deny

publication of materials they felt threatened the success of the Occupation, but chose to leave Japan's penal code and law enforcement agencies intact to handle domestic crime. SCAP's press code focused on suppressing materials that exalted the emperor, praised Japan's militarism, or criticized SCAP's reform efforts. Sexually explicit materials passed Occupation censors without issue as long as they did not contain material that ran counter to the press code. This created a perception that SCAP was willfully allowing pornography to enter the market despite Meiji-era laws prohibiting it in an attempt to fundamentally change Japan's constructs of sexuality. I argue that the obscenity trial surrounding the translation of D.H. Lawrence's *Lady Chatterley's Lover* would reestablish a Japanese understanding of sexuality by presenting a legal definition of obscenity that would undo the ambiguities created by Japan's occupiers by defining the boundaries of proper sexuality for public consumption within a sovereign Japan. With a single 1957 Japanese Supreme Court decision, the Japanese state reclaimed power over the regulation and censorship of sexually explicit publications and, more broadly, disempowered individual citizens by naming itself the definer and protector of postwar sexual morality.

Above all, this dissertation is interested in ways Japanese political actors strove to undermine both perceived and concrete threats to domestic sexuality while occupied under the sovereign power of a foreign entity. I contend that sexuality is a valuable lens through which to study occupied Japan as it presented a number of contentious issues that concerned both Occupation and Japanese authorities. Sexuality offers a window into the relationship between occupier and occupied that allows us to see beyond the dominant-submissive archetype toward a frame in which occupied Japan held significant agency to undermine and mitigate the influence of SCAP reforms on Japanese notions of proper sexuality as long as they did not contradict the broad goals of the Occupation.

Chapter One Breakwater for the Nation: The Recreation and Amusement Association and Its Rush to Protect Japan's Sexuality

On July 26, 1945, a joint declaration from the United States, China, and Great Britain at the Potsdam Conference called for Japan's unconditional surrender. Japan's last standing Axis ally, Germany, had surrendered on May 8 leaving Japan with few options to pursue outside help. This "Potsdam Declaration" threatened Japan's complete obliteration should it choose to ignore the Allied ultimatum. On August 6, the United States detonated its newly tested atomic bomb over Hiroshima killing 80,000 people in a flash of fire and ash. Three days later, Nagasaki suffered the same fate. Finally, on August 15, Emperor Hirohito announced to his subjects that Japan must "endure the unendurable" and unconditionally accept the terms of the Potsdam Declaration.

The Potsdam Declaration is most remembered for its demand for Japan's unconditional surrender. Equally important for the Japanese people, the declaration communicated to the world the Allies' plans for a military occupation in Japan after its capitulation. Article 10, in particular, reassured the Japanese government that under the occupation, the Allies intended to remodel, not fully remake, Japan into a peaceful, democratic nation:

We do not intend that the Japanese shall be enslaved as a race or destroyed as a nation...The Japanese Government shall remove all obstacles to the revival and strengthening of democratic tendencies among the Japanese people. Freedom of speech, of religion, and of thought, as well as respect for the fundamental human rights shall be established.¹

The declaration was expectedly concise and carefully guarded in its declarations on the intended logistics surrounding postwar occupation. For the Japanese government, however, Potsdam made

¹ William de Bary, ed., "Potsdam Declaration," *Sources of Japanese Tradition*, Vol. 2, (New York: Columbia University Press, 2005), 1022

clear, at the least, that Japan would lose the sovereign power to govern itself as scores of Allied enemy troops made ready to occupy the nation and rule its people.

Until Allied personnel began arriving on Japanese soil on August 28, Japanese at all levels of society lived through an uncertain time ruled by a fear of what Japan's occupiers might do to the nation. Almost immediately following Hirohito's radio broadcast, panic began to swell among government officials and the Japanese populace alike. Fearing an imminent invasion by American troops, women and children in the Kantō region quickly began choking train stations and bus terminals to flee inland. Prefectural and local authorities recommended that women take refuge in remote areas of the country while rumors floated word-of-mouth among mothers with young daughters that incoming American forces would savagely rape young women in coastal communities, trumpeting fears of a savage American sexuality invading along with the Occupation.² That fear would be echoed by members of the Imperial family, politicians, and members of the police force alike as Japan faced the uncertainty of Allied occupation.

Once Emperor Hirohito accepted the terms of the Potsdam Declaration and, by extension, acquiesced to an Allied occupation of Japan, the Prime Minister and Imperial Navy Admiral Suzuki Kantarō resigned his position on August 16. Hirohito appointed Prince Higashikuni Naruhiko to succeed Suzuki with the task of working with the incoming occupation forces to ensure an orderly ceasefire and demobilization of the imperial forces. The appointment of a member of the imperial house to the post of Prime Minister suggested to the Japanese people that the integrity of the imperial household would be maintained despite the ensuing occupation. In fact, the throne had no such knowledge, but Prime Minister Higashikuni acted quickly to choose a cabinet that would reinforce the centrality of the imperial household to the Japanese

² Yuki Tanaka, *Japan's Comfort Women: Sexual Slavery and Prostitution during World War II and the US Occupation*, (London: Routledge, 2002), 113

government by including prince and former Prime Minister Konoe Fumimaro as vice-chancellor.

Of this period between surrender and occupation, Eiji Takemae states,

Higashikuni quickly set about repealing repressive wartime emergency decrees and attempting to restore the prewar Imperial status quo. Faced with the prospect of radical change, the Prince and his Cabinet were charged with the sacred mission of preserving the emperor system.³

By showing that the new Cabinet was acting on the orders of Emperor Hirohito and working to remove oppressive fascist policies, Higashikuni and Konoe hoped to demonstrate the throne's willingness to cooperate with Occupation authorities and, ipso facto, save the throne.

What Prime Minister Higashikuni and Vice Chancellor Konoe did not know was that the United States had already determined that Japan's imperial government would continue to exist in some form. Early drafts of America's "Initial Post-Defeat Policy Related to Japan" by its Department of State indicate a willingness to work through existing Japanese officials to enact Allied reform policies. In theory, this tactic would ensure smoother assimilation of reforms by the Japanese public and would also minimize efforts by Occupation administrators to oversee their implementation. Nothing in these early drafts indicates plans to eradicate the imperial throne, but they do make it clear that United States planners believed that the removal of all constitutional powers was necessary.⁴ This document would be tweaked several times over, but the final version given to General Douglas MacArthur on August 30, 1945 explicitly outlines his authority as the Supreme Commander of Allied Powers (SCAP):

The authority of the Emperor and the Japanese Government will be subject to the Supreme Commander, who will possess all powers necessary to effectuate the surrender terms and to carry out the policies established for the conduct of the occupation and the control of Japan...the Supreme Commander will exercise his authority through Japanese

³ Eiji Takemae, *The Allied Occupation of Japan*, (New York: Continuum International, 2002), 47

⁴ "Summary of United States Initial Post-Defeat Policy Relating to Japan (Informal and Without Commitment by the Department of State)," *microfilm*, Records of SWNCC, Records of the Subcommittee for the Far East "384.1 Surrender Term, Japan 1945.4.18-1945.8.30" <SFE-1 Roll No. 2 >, April 12, 1945, National Diet Library, 2

governmental machinery and agencies, including the Emperor, to the extent that this satisfactorily furthers United States objectives. The Japanese Government will be permitted, under his instructions, to exercise the normal powers of government in matters of domestic administration.⁵

Though the Supreme Commander's powers would be absolute, SCAP would not have the manpower needed to disband the Japanese political apparatus fully and rule by martial law. Instead, General MacArthur was tasked with weeding out the militant factions of government and using the remaining government apparatus to enact reform. In addition, the policy made it clear that Japan's police force and its domestic penal code would remain intact following a purge of militaristic or undemocratic personnel and principles, creating a hybridization of power with SCAP's overarching authority giving way to domestic peacekeepers who understood the penal code and retained familiarity with the Japanese civilian population.⁶

Unaware of its role in the Occupation's plans, Japan's Cabinet turned its sights on issues it could control in the meantime. Almost immediately after surrender, the Cabinet radioed officials throughout the nation and instructed them to destroy incriminating documents and records before they fell into the hands of Occupation forces. As John Dower writes,

Although the emperor's broadcast put an end to the American air raids, it was said, with a fine touch of hyperbole, that the skies over Tokyo remained black with smoke for days to come. Bonfires of documents replaced napalm's hellfires as the wartime elites...devoted themselves to obscuring their wartime deeds."⁷

Second on the Cabinet's list was the perceived sexual threat embodied by the incoming Allied forces. As Japanese women fled coastal areas into the countryside to keep their daughters safe from predatory American sexuality, Cabinet members met on August 21 to decide on an acceptable course of action to minimize rape and violence against Japanese women. For Vice

⁵ "Politico-Military Problems in the Far East: United States Initial Post-Defeat Policy Relating to Japan," *microfilm*, U.S. State Department Records Decimal File 1945-1949 (PW) "740.00119 P.W./9-645" <SDD-3, Roll No. 3>, September 6, 1945, National Diet Library, 3

⁶ *Ibid.*, 6

⁷ John Dower, *Embracing Defeat: Japan in the Wake of World War II*, (New York: Norton, 1999), 39

Chancellor Konoe, in particular, this was of the highest concern. He had served as Japan's prime minister from June 1937 until January 1939 during which Japan's army pressed into China following the Marco Polo Bridge incident. Early in the campaign, the troops captured Chiang Kai-shek's capital at Nanjing and proceeded to rape and kill tens of thousands of Chinese civilians.⁸ At the time, an East Asian Bureau chief of Japan's Foreign Ministry commented in his diary: "A letter arrived from Shanghai reporting in detail on the atrocities of our army in Nanking. It describes [a] horrendous situation of pillage and rape. My god, is this how our imperial army behaves?"⁹ To minimize the army's personal war on the Nanjing civilians, the Konoe government ordered a "comfort station," staffed with Korean and Chinese women who had been forced into sexual service, to be established in order to direct the soldiers' sexual aggression toward a more politically acceptable outlet.¹⁰ Incidents of civilian rape trailed off as Japanese soldiers increasingly utilized the comfort facilities. Konoe, who understood from this experience the actions that conquest armies were capable of and who had evidence that his solution had helped, proposed at the August 21 Cabinet meeting that the comfort woman system be extended to Japan. By offering Occupation forces a comparatively small group of Japanese women as a sexual outlet, he argued, the general populace would be protected from the Allies' unchecked sexual aggression.¹¹ Prime Minister Higashiyama agreed with his vice chancellor and secured 33,000,000 yen from the Japan Industrial Development Bank to back a domestic foundation designed to cater to the sexual needs of the incoming American personnel.

Konoe's suggestion of extending the comfort system to occupied Japan was not the first time that Japanese politicians used women's bodies to create a buffer protecting the domestic

⁸ The total number of casualties is impossible to determine with estimates ranging from 40,000 to 300,000 deaths.

⁹ Ishigari Itarō, as quoted in Herbert Bix, *Hirohito and the Making of Modern Japan*, (New York: Harper Collins, 2001), 336

¹⁰ Iris Chang, *Rape of Nanking: The Forgotten Holocaust of World War II*, (New York: Basic Books, 1997) 53

¹¹ Masayo Duus, *Haisha no Okurimono*, (Tokyo: Kōdansha Ltd., 1985), 25

greater good from the threat of foreign sexual brutality. When Townsend Harris became the first United States Consul to Japan in 1856 and served as the prime negotiator for the Unequal Treaties opening up Japan to western trade, Harris became stricken by the beauty of a young geisha named Saitō Okichi (often referred to simply as “Okichi”) and demanded to the Shimoda administrative authorities that she enter his employ. He threatened to cut off all negotiation signaling possible American military action unless his demand was met. Shimoda officials begged Okichi to service Harris and sacrifice her reputation for the benefit of the negotiation process. Reluctantly, Okichi broke her troth to her beloved, a peasant named Tsurumatsu, and entered Harris’ household. According to legend, she met all of Harris’ needs both as a housekeeper and sexual partner. Once the trade agreements concluded and Harris returned to the United States, Okichi lived the life of a pariah, scorned by those around her. Shimoda residents dubbed her “*Tōjin Okichi*” (The Barbarian Okichi). She turned her sorrows to the bottle until, drunk and homeless, she flung herself into the Shimoda River in the spring of 1892.¹²

Like all legends, Okichi’s story was embellished after her death to the point that it now appears more tall-tale than hard fact. Townsend Harris makes no mention of Okichi in his memoirs detailing his extended stay in Japan. Japan’s Kodansha Encyclopedia, too, only confirms that she indeed entered the employ of Consul Harris, but that he dismissed her within days because of a communicable skin malady. But the legend of her sacrifice to do the sexual bidding of an invading foreigner took on a life of its own and continues to be celebrated in Shimoda at Hōfukuji Temple where her ashes are interred. There, since 1933, the small temple has commemorated her sacrifice and the coming of the west in its annual “Carnival of the Black Ships” where her story is reenacted in plays.¹³ Her fame spread beyond Shimoda with no fewer

¹² Kikō Yamata, *Three Geishas*, (New York: John Day Company, 1956), 39-94

¹³ *Ibid.*, 93

than seven feature films based on her legend made between 1930 and 1938 including Kenji Mizoguchi's silent *Tōjin Okichi* in 1930. Finally, a heavily romanticized version of her story arrived on the American shore in the 1958 John Wayne film, *The Barbarian and the Geisha*.¹⁴ Okichi's enduring legend represents the embodiment of the threatening potential of foreign sexuality and the sacrifice of one of Japan's own to keep that sexuality from harming others.

The story of Okichi and the comfort stations in Japanese controlled territories during the war both demonstrate that the Japanese government had been willing to sanction prostitution in order to diminish the aggressive sexual propensities of men. Konoe's suggestion to supply Japan's occupiers with prostitutes in order to protect the rest of Japan's women is the next step along the same continuum. This government action illuminates two key components to the cabinet's perception of the imminent Occupation. First, Konoe and the cabinet clearly saw the Allied forces not as liberators, but as an invading force with destructive potential despite their stated peaceful intentions. As in wartime, the first priority of the Japanese government was to develop measures that would protect its civilians to the best of its abilities. In this, Konoe's concern lay not with the military potential of the invading forces, but with the possible violence toward the Japanese public wrought by the soldiers' sexual aggression. Second, Konoe's policy suggests that in the government's perception, a line needed to be drawn between the American occupation forces and the general Japanese populace to minimize Japan's exposure to the perceived brutality of American sexuality. Forming a protective buffer zone would be Japanese prostitutes and a corps of Japanese women who volunteered to sacrifice themselves sexually to ensure the safety of their fellow upstanding Japanese women and preserve order within a potentially tense environment for both occupier and occupied.

¹⁴ "The Barbarian and the Geisha." IMDb. 1958. Accessed November 24, 2014. http://www.imdb.com/title/tt0051398/?ref_=fn_al_tt_1.

THE RECREATION AND AMUSEMENT ASSOCIATION

Though widespread mass rape at levels justifying migrations of Japanese women to Japan's mountainous interior never occurred, the behavior of occupation personnel was not faultless. The first reported case of rape came on the same day Supreme Commander of Allied Powers Douglas MacArthur landed at Atsugi Airport on August 30. A Japanese man employed as a driver at Yokosuka Naval Base alleged that two soldiers from the US Navy came to his home on August 30 and raped his wife and seventeen-year-old daughter. On September 1, citizens alleged eleven more rapes in the Yokosuka and Yokohama areas alone. By September 9, as the ranks of Occupation personnel swelled, the number of reported complaints rose to 1226 incidents.¹⁵ This early and steep increase in sexual misconduct served to justify the government's fears of an unchecked American libido preying on Japanese civilians and helped legitimize its steps toward a widespread mobilization of prostitutes to satiate American lust and protect the greater public.

Unbeknownst to his fellow cabinet members and the newly appointed Prime Minister Higashikuni, prior to the August 21 meeting, Konoe had already begun to enlist the aid of municipal authorities to preserve the new peace by keeping the incoming Occupation's sexuality in check. On August 16, Konoe met with the Superintendent-General of the Tokyo Metropolitan Police Headquarters, Saka Nobuya, instructing him to create comfort facilities for incoming Occupation forces "in order to protect 'respectable women.'"¹⁶ Based on this instruction, Saka would entrust Ōtake Bungo of the Tokyo Metropolitan Police's Public Peace and Security

¹⁵ Tarō Fukutomi, *Shōwa Kyabarei Hishi*, (Tokyo: Bunshun Publishers, 2004). 69-70. It is unclear how many of these reported incidents were alleged rapes, but the reports include one complainant alleging that his 20 year-old daughter was gang raped by 27 different American soldiers.

¹⁶ Tanaka, *Japan's Comfort Women*, 141

Section with the task of “finding ways to preserve public morals” by researching the logistics of a coordinated system to cater to the sexual and recreational needs of the American forces.¹⁷

Though Konoe ordered the comfort facilities, he did not indicate instructions on how they should be run, leaving Ōtake to decide the structure of the organization. Ōtake called private sector entertainment guild leaders, including Geisha house proprietors, cabaret operators, brothel owners, and restaurateurs, to a meeting scheduled for August 18. His plan was to form a business conglomerate made up of successful entrepreneurs in the entertainment field to utilize their expertise and ensure that the organization would run independently from the Tokyo police, though Ōtake’s memoir documenting his role in founding the organization demonstrates that he would maintain some oversight capacity, if only to maintain order at brothels. The organization and daily oversight of the brothels would fall to the entertainment guild leaders who would use their collective savvy to staff and oversee the sexual breakwater between the invading Occupation personnel and the Japanese populace.

Initially, Konoe promised monetary support of up to 100,000,000 yen to fund the comfort facilities, but only 33,000,000 would be procured after the August 21 meeting of the Cabinet approving Konoe’s plan. Apart from the initial injection of startup funds and Cabinet approval, the imperial government would claim no further involvement in the organization leaving the postwar comfort system in the hands of private businessmen aided by the metropolitan police. Over the next several days, these entrepreneurs gathered with the Tokyo Police to decide on the policies and functions of the new organization and, ultimately, determine where the line between upstanding Japanese women and marginalized women suitable to buttress the sexual breakwater would be drawn.¹⁸

¹⁷ Bungo Ōtake, “*Nikutai no Bōhatei: Shōwa no Tōjin Okichi*,” *Daiyamondo* 40:1, (1952), 65

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 66

At the August 18th meeting, Ōtake communicated to the members that it was the wish of the metropolitan police that leaders of the private sector work to promote an environment of peace during the imminent occupation. Planning meetings continued for several days in a row with the understanding that whatever would be done required haste. The general sense of the meetings was that the needs of the incoming Americans would range from coffee shops and restaurants to dance halls and strip clubs, but that the main focus on preserving the peace would need to come from prostitution. This sentiment was spearheaded by Tokyo's Yoshiwara pleasure district's main procurer Toshi Narukawa who said, "[the peace] will crumble with the slightest hit. Tempura and sukiyaki should be secondary concerns. Our first order of business should be women."¹⁹ Without direct knowledge of how many Occupation personnel to expect in Tokyo, the organization wanted to recruit 5000 women in Tokyo to sexually "comfort" the Occupation troops. These women would be supplemented by hotel workers, office staff, waitresses, and bartenders, all managed by the organization's proprietors.²⁰

From these initial meetings, the new organization's perception of Japan's occupiers and its expectations of the role it could play in the postwar become clear. The "comfort" it would provide the Occupation personnel would not be limited solely to sexual fraternization. More traditional forms of recreation would also be necessary to ensure that the Americans' idle time would be filled without disturbing the fragile peace. By drawing restaurateurs and dance hall proprietors into the organization, Ōtake Bungo showed that he understood the need for both non-sexual and recreation making the association not solely a prostitution ring, but an elaborate conglomerate of entertainment businesses catering to the Occupation in the name of "protecting the pure blood of the Japanese race while serving as a foundational underground pillar for

¹⁹ Ōtake, *Nikutai no Bōhatei*, 67

²⁰ Hamaguchi Yūzō, *R.A.A. Kyōkai Enkakushi*, (Tokyo: Nisshinsha, 1949), 5-6

postwar Japanese society.”²¹ Nevertheless, there can be no doubt that “comfort” primarily meant supplying the incoming soldiers with women for sex.

Despite the potential profit in providing brothels to battle-jaded Americans eager to spend their dollars on coitus, the organizers’ urgency and rhetoric reveal that its members were most concerned that the incoming Americans represented a potential sexual threat to the newfound peace. They agreed their primary mission was to “protect the 4000 bloodlines of the *Yamato Nadeshiko*”²² and that readily supplying an outlet for the sexual appetites of the Americans would serve that purpose.²³ Just as Konoe and the Cabinet saw Occupation personnel as an invading and threatening force, so too did the collection of private businessmen who shouldered the burden of establishing and overseeing the front line against the Americans’ threatening sexuality.

With the guild leaders in general agreement about the functions of the new organization, they set to adopting a name that would communicate their intentions both to the Japanese and to the Americans. By August 23, the group dubbed its organization the Recreation and Amusement Association (R.A.A.)²⁴ and the national head of the Association of Presidents (a restaurant guild), Miyazawa Shijirō was made the R.A.A.’s chief director. Even though Miyazawa did not have experience with brothel proprietorship, as the head of a nation-wide group representing restaurants across the nation, his experience with handling large organizations made him a logical choice to oversee such an ambitious association as the R.A.A.²⁵

With the initial wave of Occupation personnel expected to number in the thousands, recruitment of enough women to meet demand was the next major issue facing the R.A.A. The

²¹ Hamaguchi, *R.A.A.*, 4

²² Conceptualization of the “ideal” Japanese woman

²³ Hamaguchi, *R.A.A.*, 1

²⁴ In Japanese: *tokushu ian shisetsu kyōkai* (特殊慰安施設協会)

²⁵ Hamaguchi, *R.A.A.*, 1

initial pool of potential workers was easy enough to identify. Japan's licensed brothel system never fully broke down during the war, though with major metropolitan areas in ruin and the government's concerns centered on prosecuting the war, health checks and state regulation of brothels became a near impossible task. Brothels and geisha houses that survived the incendiary bombing attacks in the opening months of 1945 represented a ready-made pool from which to draw staff to cater to Occupation personnel. The licensing system itself was a surviving Edo Period institution when hopeful brothel owners would apply for a license from the Shogunate. For the government, licensing brothels allowed for easier regulation of known prostitution houses and, most importantly, offered a lucrative source of tax revenue.

The system survived Japan's Meiji Era transition to modernity. According to Sabine Frühstück, the Meiji government emphasized the health of the populace as being paramount to the virility of the state. With licensed prostitution legal, the government increasingly invested time and money toward stricter oversight of brothel prostitutes to ensure their continued health and minimize the risk to the general population resulting in overall falling infectious venereal disease rates:

The steadily increasing numbers of examinations, from 1.77 million in 1896 to 2.9 million in 1930, demonstrates the great importance for the national body that the hygiene administration placed on the health examinations of prostitutes. In 1896, 4.06 percent of those examined were diagnosed as infected, while the official infection rate in 1930 was only 2.17 percent of those examined.²⁶

Advances in medicine, disease prevention, prevention awareness, and tighter record keeping undoubtedly contributed to the decline in diagnosis rates, but Frühstück also notes that during the 1920s, Japan's Bureau of Hygiene carefully documented areas zoned for prostitution in each prefecture and oversaw placement of clinics and hospitals near those zones to keep infections at

²⁶ Sabine Frühstück, *Colonizing Sex: Sexology and Social Control in Modern Japan*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003), 44

bay. “By the end of the 1920s, 482 health examination offices and 223 hospitals for prostitutes served 535 prostitution quarters.”²⁷

Often, homeless or destitute women found their way to brothel doors looking for a way to survive. Additionally, proprietors “bought” women from poor peasant families, gave the women a room, clothing, and food, and contracted them to pay off the exorbitant debts accrued through their “purchase” price and advances in goods and food. Because the government acknowledged the legitimacy of the contracts held by the licensed brothel proprietors, the women had little choice but to continue to work until either their debts were paid in full or the proprietor let them out of their contracts voluntarily. Proprietors thus continued to charge exorbitant fees to the woman to keep popular prostitutes in their employ for as long as possible. The Japanese Diet made some effort to liberalize the system in 1900 under Article VI of the Regulations for Control of Licensed Prostitutes, which punished with a fine of up to 100 yen or imprisonment no longer than three months anyone who “[obstructs] a woman in her effort to abandon the life of a licensed prostitute.” Police rarely enforced the law and brothel proprietors openly defied it with little fear of prosecution.²⁸

For the R.A.A., brothel proprietors had little fear of police crackdown since the organization was created at the behest of the Tokyo Metropolitan Police with intensions tying it to lofty national ideals. To staff the new brothels, the guild conglomerate controlling the R.A.A. already had a pool of women already in guild leaders’ employ that simply needed shifting into R.A.A. brothels. According to Ōtake, however, convincing them took some rhetorical skill. Throughout Tokyo, prostitutes voiced their disapproval of the R.A.A. arguing that the sheer numbers of customers would be on a scale they had not encountered previously and admitting

²⁷ Frühstück, *Colonizing Sex*, 44

²⁸ H.H. MacDonald, “Elimination of Licensed Prostitution in Japan, 7 January 1946.” Public Health and Welfare Division, Record Group 331, National Archives, Washington, D.C., 2-3

some anxiety over the size of American genitalia.²⁹ In order to persuade Tokyo's prostitutes to serve in the new institution, Tokyo's head of the Public Peace and Security Division, Shakutoku Takanori and Ōtake Bungo began a tour of operating Tokyo brothels. In their conversations with prostitutes, they made it clear that the R.A.A. would cater exclusively to the Occupation and was necessary to protect the populace. Ōtake referenced the legend of Okichi's sacrifice to Townsend Harris as a parallel to the prostitutes' intended role in protecting other Japanese women from harm. He writes, "We told the women 'consider yourselves to be the *Shōwa* version of *Tōjin Okichi*. Your sacrifice will protect the bloodlines of the Japanese.'" According to Ōtake, this allusion to Okichi softened the stance of many and they agreed to work for the R.A.A.³⁰

Metaphorically equating the R.A.A. prostitutes to Okichi reveals how the R.A.A. conceptualized its role as a barrier between Occupation personnel and upstanding Japanese citizenry. Okichi's legend was well-known and Ōtake emphasized that her self-sacrifice helped to protect other Japanese from the perceived sexual aggression of a foreign intruder and kept Harris working on treaty negotiations rather than orchestrating an attack on Japan. R.A.A. prostitutes would perform the same patriotic role of defending the nation with their bodies. R.A.A. proprietors drew upon wartime rhetoric of self-sacrifice, Japanese homogeneity, and nationalism to sway the minds of the reluctant, playing upon fears of the enemy, who would now be coming to Japan in large numbers. Moreover, by playing on the romanticized legend of Okichi, R.A.A. officials hoped to communicate that the prostitutes' actions would be heralded by future generations as a necessary and heroic sacrifice that kept the rest of Japan safe. The romanticism of these sacrifices and their connections to wartime nationalism proved a useful

²⁹ Ōtake, *Nikutai no Bōhatei*, 68

³⁰ *Ibid.*, 68

rhetorical tool for the R.A.A. as it scrambled to establish itself before the foreign occupation began.

NEW WOMEN OF JAPAN

Initially, 356 Tokyo prostitutes joined the R.A.A. to comfort the incoming Occupation forces. The remaining prostitutes continued to staff licensed brothels for Japanese customers. For Chief Director Miyazawa Shijirō, this was a good start, but he knew that many more women would need to be recruited if the R.A.A. was to have any measure of success. He understood that a simple call for Japanese women to sacrifice their bodies for the containment of American aggression would not be sufficient. Instead, he provided incentives in the form of room, board, and clothing. Tokyo lay in ruins at the end of the war after months of incendiary bombing by the Allies. Women searching for food and a safe place to sleep were in surplus making the R.A.A.'s promise of basic survival an enticing opportunity for Japanese women who found themselves without homes. Since the R.A.A. also needed women as dancers, bartenders, and office staff, they chose to reach out to women using vague job descriptions with no mention of prostitution.

From August 29 to 31, the R.A.A. printed their recruitment announcements in widely-circulating newspapers. The Asahi Newspaper's advertisement is indicative of the vague wording they used:

URGENT

Recruiting special women workers. Clothing, food, shelter, and a high wage provided. Advances possible upon agreement. Travel expenses will also be supplied to applicants outside the region.

Apply at Tokyo, Ginza 7-1

Recreation and Amusement Association.³¹

³¹ Setsuko Inoue, *Senryōgun ianshō*, (Tokyo: Shinhyōron, 1995), 19

Due to space limitations, the newspaper advertisement was necessarily staccato in its explanation, but the R.A.A. also utilized more detailed placards and posters around Tokyo and Yokohama directing interested women to the Ginza headquarters:

TO THE NEW WOMEN OF JAPAN

We seek pioneers from the new women of Japan to help establish and participate in a major undertaking related to the well-being of the occupation troops. Our organization has been established to resolve matters of national urgency presented by the postwar situation.

Wanted: Female office workers. Ages 18-25. Room, board, clothing, other amenities provided.³²

Both advertisements communicated similar enticements to recruits, namely the provision of basic needs for survival in the form of food and shelter. As an added incentive to those outside of Tokyo, a high wage and paid travel expenses would serve to sweeten the deal, but also displayed the extent to which the R.A.A. needed volunteers. By casting a wide net through the newspapers, organizers hoped to draw as many women into its ranks as possible to strengthen its sexual breakwater. In addition, by calling out to the “new women of Japan,” the R.A.A.’s placards seem to emphasize that women in its employ were at the forefront of a transitional period for Japan, which further underscores the connection the R.A.A.’s organizers tried to make between its prostitutes and Okichi. Just as she sacrificed her body for the sake of ensuring a safe transition into a new era for Japan, R.A.A. prostitutes would sacrifice themselves for Japan’s postwar transition.

Scholars disagree on the effectiveness of the recruitment campaign. Yuki Tanaka claims that although the advertisements never directly stated the specific nature of the intended work and avoided the use of the term “comfort women,” most women who read the advertisement

³² Michael S. Molasky, *The American Occupation of Japan and Okinawa*, (New York: Routledge, 1999), 107

could surmise what the job required.³³ However, some Japanese sources disagree. Ōtake claimed many of the women were shocked when they realized that sexually servicing Occupation personnel was the predominant focus of the R.A.A. and its workers.³⁴ Kanzaki Hiyoshi writes in *Yoru no Kichi*, that most applicants, lured by the promise of food, shelter, and clothing, expected, at most, to work at dance halls as partners for Occupation patrons. When recruiters explained the sexual commitment needed by R.A.A. recruits, more than half of the women lured into the Ginza office reportedly expressed anger and refused to join. The first day of public recruitment saw between 200 and 300 women join, far short of the target number of 5000 recruits.³⁵

Applicants were not the only citizens who reacted angrily to the R.A.A.'s presence. Japanese imperial soldiers also made their unhappiness known by visiting the Ginza recruitment office. Some of these exchanges became rather heated. In one notable encounter an imperial soldier barged into the office brandishing his sword and yelling at the recruitment officer that Japan should not sacrifice its women to cater to the enemy.³⁶ Even at war, colonial women overwhelmingly staffed comfort stations for imperial soldiers. The sight of Japanese nationals catering to the sexual needs of Japan's conquerors may have served as a particularly demoralizing and frustrating development for the imperial soldiers who believed their duty during the war was to fight for the safety of Japan and its people.

Despite the imperial soldiers' anger, the R.A.A. saw in them important rhetorical kinship and moved to align its goals with those of the imperial forces during the war. The weapons of war simply changed into the weapons of sexual appeasement designed to satiate the invading occupiers. Without such a defensive line, organizers feared, the sexual violence that would

³³ Tanaka, *Japan's Comfort Women*, 147

³⁴ Ōtake, *Nikutai no Bōhatei*, 68

³⁵ Hiyoshi Kanzaki, *Yoru no Kichi*, (Tokyo: Kawade Shobo, 1953), 13-14

³⁶ *Ibid.*, 14

envelope the nation at the hands of the occupiers would leave the nation irrevocably transformed. With the enemy soon occupying the homeland, some Japanese women would willingly sacrifice their sexual virtue to defend the nation's bloodlines from the sexual appetites of the Occupation personnel. Where the imperial soldiers' duty ended, the R.A.A.'s duty began.

During the war, the Japanese soldiers had provided the barrier between the American enemy and the Japanese populace. Similarly, the R.A.A. used marginalized Japanese women to make up the breakwater to protect the rest of the Japanese female population. Those women already under contract to brothels or geisha houses offered a ready-made reservoir of women with the necessary attributes for the R.A.A., but the homeless, the destitute, and the starving women of Japan who would voluntarily serve the R.A.A. helped bolster that pool. The marginalization of these women based on their socio-economic status at the immediate end of the war pushed them to choose a job that put them at the front line between the encroaching enemy and the upstanding populace. In the eyes of the R.A.A. proprietors, these marginalized volunteers allowed those lucky enough to have survived the war with the ability to rebuild their lives, to face the changes wrought by the Occupation without fear of the sullyng sexual appetites of the encroaching soldiers. Moreover, by couching the new recruits' services as being for the benefit of the nation, R.A.A. proprietors immediately elevated the "Shōwa Okichis" to an elite rhetorical status. Where the war left many without a home or sustenance, the R.A.A. offered the opportunity to defend the imperial nation.

Despite the numbers of curious women refusing to join the R.A.A., by the end of August, more than 1300 professional prostitutes and non-prostitutes alike had joined the R.A.A. Most likely, the majority of these women were attracted by the fiscal promises of the job rather than some sense of imperial duty. However, by romanticizing the implications of working for the

R.A.A. and combining that with wartime notions of duty to the nation, R.A.A. volunteers could take solace in the "Shōwa Okichi" construct as a semantic replacement for the negativity of the word "prostitute."³⁷

To further imbue the R.A.A. mission with nationalism, the association had an official opening ceremony in the square in front of the imperial palace in Tokyo on August 28 attended by the prostitutes, R.A.A. officials, and members of the Tokyo Police Headquarters. In his opening ceremony speech, R.A.A. Chief Director Miyazawa Shijirō made clear the duties and the ideological forces that would drive the actions of the women:

And so we unite and go forward to where our beliefs lead us, and through the sacrifice of several thousands of "Okichis of our era" build a breakwater to hold back the raging waves and defend and nurture the purity of our race, becoming as well an invisible underground pillar at the root of the postwar social order.³⁸

Within the shadow of the emperor's residence, the R.A.A.'s intentions were laid bare. Far from signaling a move toward a "new Japan," the "Okichis of our era" would maintain a national polity that included the preservation of the imperial throne. This event illustrates how the incoming collective sexuality of the Occupation forces was understood by Japanese leaders to pose a very real threat against both the maintenance of that polity and the survival of Japanese exceptionalism and homogeneity. With their sexual sacrifice, the women of the R.A.A. would become the foundation for postwar Japan by promoting peaceful interactions between Occupation personnel and the greater Japanese populace.

As a concluding appeal in the opening ceremony, Miyazawa made a final rhetorical push to align the R.A.A. with the integrity of the imperial forces and, specifically, those soldiers that willingly sacrificed their lives for national defense:

³⁷ Kanzaki, *Yoru no Kichi*, 19

³⁸ Hiroshi Makabe, as quoted in Dower, *Embracing Defeat*, 127

We are not compromising our integrity or selling our souls. We are paying an inescapable courtesy, and serving to fulfill one part of our obligations and to contribute to the security of our society. We dare say it loudly: we are but offering ourselves for the defense of the national polity. We affirm this.³⁹

The R.A.A. had worked tirelessly to construct its “breakwater of flesh” in the short time since Japan's surrender and it was ready to test its strength against the oncoming waves of Occupation personnel the very same day.

AT THE FRONT LINE – *Komachien*

Although the R.A.A. provided various entertainment options, the front line of defense against the influx of Allied personnel was indubitably entrusted to the brothels. Initially, the physical location of R.A.A. brothels posed a problem for officials. With much of the Kantō region destroyed by the war, few suitable and available buildings remained standing from which the R.A.A. could choose to operate affordably. Authorities initially looked to latch on to existing companies to find bases for their operations. Most notably, the R.A.A. initially contacted Mitsukoshi, a well-known chain of department stores, to identify brothel space. R.A.A. authorities hoped that the lure of a stream of Americans with dollars to spend in Mitsukoshi stores would prove strong enough to negotiate a deal for space. Predictably, the department chain refused to enter into any agreement with the R.A.A. due to the mixed signals it would send to the public. With basic goods in scarce supply to fill its store shelves, Mitsukoshi offering women for prostitution would do more to tarnish the company's image in the long run than increase its profits in the short term.⁴⁰

Fearing that no mainstream company would enter into an agreement knowing the nature of its business, the R.A.A. shifted its focus toward finding suitable premises in areas left

³⁹ Makabe, as quoted in Dower, *Embracing Defeat*, 127-128

⁴⁰ Kanzaki, *Yoru no Kichi*, 15

relatively untouched during the war. The R.A.A. searched for imperial military bases with communities left relatively intact so as to exploit the surrounding infrastructure at a minimum of cost to the organization. With the first wave of incoming Occupation personnel imminent, authorities traveled to the Ōmori seaside area to look for suitable buildings. The Ōmori area housed a military base that would likely be used by Occupation authorities, dormitories previously used by mobilized women's groups, public baths, and operational restaurants that would help lure the Occupation soldiers to the area.⁴¹

Three buildings that operated as restaurants or taverns during the war, in particular, seemed suitable for the R.A.A.'s first brothel: *Komachien*, *Raku Raku House*, and *Gokuurin*. Ōtake Bungo and Chief Nagata of the Ōi Metropolitan Police inspected each location and decided that *Komachien* was the most suitable because it was in the best condition and would require the least amount of retooling for the R.A.A.'s purposes. The *Raku Raku House* and *Gokuurin* would also be remodeled, but would open after *Komachien*. Workers began immediately to remove debris, clean, and construct partitions for its women to host their clients.⁴²

It is unclear if R.A.A. proprietors knew when Occupation forces would arrive, but they worked in haste, fearing it to be imminent. By August 27, *Komachien* was cleared enough for prostitutes to begin moving in, though the brothel's amenities such as bedding and partitions between individual prostitutes' quarters remained unfinished. Initially, the R.A.A. designated only professional prostitutes to staff the brothel as it had not yet begun its public recruitment attempts.⁴³ The next day the first Occupation soldiers landed at Atsugi Airport from their tours of duty in the Philippines. Within hours, a jeep carrying several American GIs made its way to

⁴¹ Kanzaki, *Yoru no Kichi*, 16

⁴² Hamaguchi, *R.A.A.*, 23

⁴³ *Ibid.*, 23

Komachien, forcing the first Recreation and Amusement Association brothel to open for business. The R.A.A. had not completely finished its preparations, and only had an explanatory sign in Japanese outside the door with no English wording indicating that *Komachien* was a brothel for Occupation personnel.

The speed with which the first Occupation members discovered *Komachien* is staggering. Historian Masayo Duus argues that metropolitan police at the airport most likely told the incoming Americans about *Komachien* and gave them directions and a detailed description of the building. Duus' supposition seems the more likely explanation since the metropolitan police participated in the creation and maintenance of the R.A.A. and by herding the Americans to R.A.A. brothels directly from the airport, authorities could immediately begin implementing the plan to protect the Japanese populace from the Americans' threatening sexual desire. It would also parallel the rapidity with which the entire R.A.A. movement began. Only one day after surrender, Konoe ordered municipal police authorities to devise a plan to protect the people. By August 18, the private guild leaders that would create and oversee the R.A.A. gathered at the request of the Tokyo police. On August 27, the first R.A.A. brothel at *Komachien* opened for business. The speed of the R.A.A.'s creation reinforces the overt fear Japanese authorities and private entrepreneurs had regarding the potential sexual violence posed by invading Occupation forces.⁴⁴ Corralling incoming GIs toward the R.A.A. brothels from day one only serves to demonstrate the pervasiveness of that fear.

From the initial thirty GIs who found their way to *Komachien* on August 28, word spread quickly through the American base and more than one hundred customers visited *Komachien* on August 29. On August 30, Ōtake Bungo visited the brothel and later described the chaos outside *Komachien*. GIs crowded themselves into makeshift lines through the gates and down the street

⁴⁴ Duus, *Haisha no Okurimono*, 70

waiting to get in.⁴⁵ The volume of customers was so great that he sent a harried message to R.A.A. headquarters in Ginza requesting that more women be sent to *Komachien* as the demand for sex far exceeded the reasonable expectations put on the prostitutes.⁴⁶ As recruits answered the newspaper and placard advertising, the R.A.A. quickly sent reinforcement workers to the brothel to help meet demand.

The conditions inside *Komachien* reflected the decay of the burned out metropolitan area surrounding it. The first noticeable distinction was the smell. Cigarette smoke, sweat, and body odor saturated the air and the coital sounds of both patron and prostitute echoed throughout. The prostitutes' individual areas were barely large enough to accommodate the larger bodies of the GIs and with neither bed nor futon, only a thin blanket separated the prostitute from the wooden floor. To offer a rudimentary sense of privacy, wooden planks taken from bombed out buildings formed short, makeshift walls. Nevertheless, such squalid conditions did little to deter the Occupation soldiers from lining up day and night for sexual gratification.⁴⁷

The price structure was developed to accommodate what the R.A.A. expected would be two disparate kinds of Occupation clientele. A "short time" stay cost 100 yen which would entail entering the woman's planked cubicle, engaging in coitus, then leaving after orgasm. The woman would then clean herself off quickly to ready herself for the next GI in line. A customer could also pay 300 yen and stay with the woman of his choice for the duration of the night with the promise of coitus as many times as the soldier liked in that period. R.A.A. authorities hoped this would prove a bargain to the soldiers, bring in a higher rate of money, and give the prostitute some respite from the endless turnover of the "short time" buyers. However, it seems that few GIs actually opted for the all night option, leaving *Komachien* to run at a factory's pace that

⁴⁵ Ōtake, *Nikutai no Bōhatei*, 70

⁴⁶ Kanzaki, *Yoru no Kichi*, 17

⁴⁷ Ōtake, *Nikutai no Bōhatei*, 71

made money for the proprietors, but left the women haggard. Before other brothels opened to ease some of the demand on *Komachien*, women averaged fifteen customers per day on the low end and sixty customers per day as the highest tally. These results confirmed the suspicions of R.A.A. authorities in two ways. First, so many GIs were finding *Komachien* and partaking in services that the R.A.A. felt justified in having created it. To the proprietors, each GI the prostitutes bedded was one fewer possible act of rape or sexual deviancy against the general populace that the GIs could perpetrate in addition to generating income for them. Secondly, that the GIs overwhelmingly chose the “short time” option and paid little attention to the condition of the women only served to confirm the R.A.A. authorities’ suspicions that the incoming Occupation personnel posed a very real sexual threat to the Japanese populace. Rather than showing concern for the well-being of the women, the GIs simply wanted sexual gratification and paid little heed to where they found it.⁴⁸

On top of the sheer scale of the GIs’ sexual appetite, their manners and unfamiliarity with Japanese customs further entrenched negative perceptions of the occupying force. Ōtake, in his memoir, recounted interviews he conducted with several of the *Komachien* prostitutes. One woman bemoaned the cultural and language barriers between the prostitutes and the Occupation personnel. While *Komachien* had a Japanese *genkan* where greeters instructed GIs to remove their footwear, most soldiers simply ignored the request and continued into the brothel with shoes on. By the third day of operation, most sliding *shoji* doors had broken at the hands of soldiers unfamiliar with the sliding apparatus who tried to open the delicate *shoji* by pushing. She further described how many GIs would verbally berate the prostitutes after they had finished, calling them “animals” or “gutter trash.” Under such conditions, that some women at *Komachien* could service up to sixty soldiers in one day led authorities like Ōtake to praise the prostitutes’

⁴⁸ Ōtake, *Nikutai no Bōhatei*, 71

resilience and sacrifice for the nation.⁴⁹ However, scholars, like Duus, are quick to point out that most of the women who entered into contracts with the R.A.A. did so out of economic necessity and not necessarily a nationalistic desire to preserve the purity of the Japanese race.⁵⁰ Regardless, the R.A.A. did not need its women to fully support the organization's ideological rhetoric because they were contractually obligated to act in accordance with that ideology.

SCAP RESPONSE: COOPERATION, DEBATE, AND ABOLITION

As the numbers of personnel arriving in Japan rose, so too did the discomfort that the Supreme Commander of Allied Powers had with fraternization and, specifically, the growing numbers of GIs frequenting R.A.A. brothels. When Douglas MacArthur stepped onto Japanese soil with his iconic corn cob pipe on August 30th, *Komachien* had already opened for business and served more than one hundred GIs in twenty-four hours. The R.A.A. was readying other brothels to expand its business and with the growing numbers of Occupation personnel queuing outside *Komachien*, the R.A.A.'s decision to expand its national breakwater gave GIs wider access to sexual services. The *Raku Raku House* was a hybrid brothel and cabaret which opened in the same area as *Komachien* on October 7 with twenty prostitutes and 25 dancers; the cabaret house, *Oasis of Ginza*, opened near the R.A.A. headquarters in Ginza on October 15, and boasted 400 dancers; in all, the R.A.A. established more than twenty comfort facilities spanning the Kantō area alone.⁵¹

Initially, the highest concern for SCAP was the spread of venereal disease to the troop population. Because fraternization with prostitutes was not officially condoned by the United States military, rising VD rates would raise questions of command chain strength, troop morale,

⁴⁹ Ōtake, *Nikutai no Bōhatei*, 70

⁵⁰ Duus, *Haisha no Okurimono*, 71

⁵¹ Hamaguchi, *R.A.A.*, 29-59

and the moral values espoused by SCAP as a whole. The speed and readiness of the R.A.A. in establishing *Komachien* caught SCAP authorities off-guard and they could do little to manage the situation. By October 1945, as the numbers of Occupation personnel frequenting the R.A.A. brothels grew, SCAP began to investigate Japan's licensed brothel system to determine if the system translated into a threat to its personnel. In theory, the licensing system offered a detailed tally of legally operating brothels and also provided municipal authorities with the information they needed to make spot checks for venereal disease and remove infected prostitutes from the population. However, during the war, state oversight had almost entirely broken down due to the lack of qualified personnel to conduct the checks and the more pressing need for valuable resources to be devoted to the war effort. Despite the absence of government mandated health checks, licensed brothels continued functioning unabated.

The R.A.A., however, instituted its own system of internal medical checks for its workers in-line with prewar licensed brothel parameters and even established its own hospital to remove and treat infected women within its ranks. The R.A.A. Hospital worked in correlation with the Yoshiwara Hospital that oversaw the sexual health of the professional prostitutes in the Yoshiwara district. Opening in December 1945, the R.A.A. Hospital initially opened in a three-story building that housed offices on the ground floor, and twenty inpatient beds on the second and third floors. By March 1946, it began seeing R.A.A. prostitutes for preventative health and OBGYN checkups to supplement its screening of the organization's prostitutes, but with only twenty beds, patient numbers quickly overwhelmed the hospital's capacity to treat them.⁵²

The health of Occupation personnel and the greater Japanese public was a particular concern for SCAP. Shortly after his arrival, General MacArthur ordered the creation of the Public Health and Welfare Division (PH&W) in October 1945, which would oversee policies

⁵² Hamaguchi, *R.A.A.*, 50

and reform surrounding public health concerns facing Japan, including venereal disease.

According to its founding orders, the PH&W would

Provide for the early establishment of the essential public health and welfare activities to meet the minimum humanitarian requirements of the civil population and to protect the health and welfare and to further the accomplishment of the mission of the Occupation Forces.⁵³

Under this authority, and with the cooperation of the office of the Chief Surgeon, the PH&W began constructing stations as early as October near (sometimes in) the premises of R.A.A. brothels to hand out prophylactic kits to GIs lining up to purchase sexual services. These “Pro-kits” contained either a latex-rubber condom or a disinfectant-soaked cloth with a tube of anti-bacterial ointment to be applied post-coitus into the man’s urethra. The presence of the “pro-station” at the R.A.A. brothels demonstrates an underlying sense of SCAP’s early nonchalance toward prostitution. Instead of forbidding GIs from frequenting the brothels, SCAP took its own measures to limit GI exposure to venereal diseases sending a signal of, if not full approval, at least acceptance of the inevitability of sexual fraternization with Japanese women.

As Occupation personnel continued to arrive, the tacit cooperation between the R.A.A. and SCAP caused tension within the chain of command. Of the most concern were the rising rates of venereal disease among enlisted men. Over a five-week period ending on November 30, 1945, nearly 87 per 1000 troops tested positive for venereal disease.⁵⁴ While it is unclear how many already infected troops entered Japan, the report, coupled with the numbers of brothels opening near SCAP operations caused many personnel to speak out against SCAP’s cooperation with Japan’s licensed prostitution system.

⁵³ R.K. Sutherland, “General Orders: Public Health and Welfare Section, 2 October 1945,” Public Health and Welfare Section, Record Group 331, National Archives, Washington, D.C., 1

⁵⁴ AG(B) 01023, *Monthly Venereal Disease Report*, microfiche, January 2, 1946, Materials on the Allied Occupation of Japan, National Diet Library, 5

Because prostitution was legal in Japan, short of a directive from General MacArthur, commanders had no authority to close R.A.A. brothels as they functioned as private Japanese businesses run by civilians. They could, however, declare individual brothels to be “off limits” to soldiers under their command and, indeed, many commanders did just that. In a memo dated October 2, 1945, one Colonel Tuckerman, Executive Officer to Brigadier General Archie Hoffman, reported that he met with the Tokyo Police Commissioner to discuss the health risk posed by the availability of brothels catering to SCAP personnel. He asked for a complete survey of brothels in the Tokyo area, that regulation and health checks to “protect the health of the Japanese” be restored in manner and frequency to the levels of the 1920s, and that brothels be moved to concentrated areas rather than being set up scattershot throughout Tokyo. Colonel Tuckerman further stated that until the Tokyo police met those guidelines, General Hoffman had ordered all known houses of prostitution to be placed on “off limits” status for all Occupation personnel implying that the prohibition would be lifted once Tokyo police met SCAP’s demands.

Like the pro-kits described above, this memo demonstrates that at this early stage of the Occupation, some SCAP commanders saw the R.A.A.’s services as potentially useful to the smooth functioning of the Occupation and believed that, under a well-functioning licensed brothel system, venereal disease rates could be controlled through regular health checks and removal of infected prostitutes from the brothels until they had been properly treated and determined to be symptom free. The “pro-stations” would supplement, rather than replace, Japanese efforts to protect the prostitutes and the GIs. From General Hoffman’s perspective, at least, such cooperation between SCAP and the R.A.A. was desirable, and he is described in the memo as having “expressed the desire to lift the ‘off limits’ restriction in certain areas as soon as

possible to prevent the scattering of inmates to uncontrollable sites.”⁵⁵ The memo thus reveals the cooperative relationship between Tokyo’s municipal authorities and the R.A.A. Because the Tokyo police helped, in part, to establish the R.A.A., they were in a position to pressure R.A.A. authorities to better screen and oversee its prostitutes. By December, the R.A.A. had purchased building space that would be turned into the R.A.A. Hospital that, in part, helped alleviate the concerns of General Hoffman and his staff. Upon receiving assurances from the Tokyo police that General Hoffman’s concerns had been addressed, the general removed the “off limits” designation, “pro-stations” reopened, and GIs were officially permitted to return to the R.A.A. brothels.

Both the R.A.A.’s future and SCAP’s cooperation with the licensed brothel system came into question in early January, 1946 when a legal advisor to the PH&W division circulated a memo titled “Elimination of Licensed Prostitution in Japan.” In it, Lieutenant Colonel H.H. MacDonald argued that the continued existence of the licensed brothel system and, by extension, the Recreation and Amusement Association, violated the terms of the Potsdam Declaration, specifically paragraph 10 that declares that “Freedom of speech, of religion and of thought, as well as respect for the fundamental human rights shall be established.” When applying those directives to the prostitution situation in Japan, he found the prostitutes’ legally binding contractual obligations to brothel proprietors to be a violation of Potsdam’s human rights declaration:

The nationwide custom of forcing larger numbers of women into openly maintained and regulated licensed prostitution is wholly inconsistent with these principles. Many Japanese girls...are committed to the practice, regardless of their own will or consent, by the ‘managers’ or proprietors of houses or districts, who advance sums ranging from 500

⁵⁵ James H. Gordon, “Conference with Brig. General Hoffman, and Colonel Tuckerman, his Executive Officer, 2 October, 1945.” Public Health and Welfare Division, Record Group 331, National Archives, Washington, D.C., 1

to 10,000 yen to their impoverished families, and who contract with the fathers or heads of such families for repayment of the loans by the earnings of the girls.⁵⁶

In the case of the R.A.A., most of the 356 Tokyo prostitutes initially identified by the R.A.A., and possibly a handful of other prostitutes from other areas, fell under this category of servitude, though their contractual obligations began before the R.A.A. was created. The debts of those women who answered the R.A.A.'s recruitment ads came from advances on food, housing, travel, and clothing which continued to multiply for each day they were in the R.A.A.'s employ, leaving them unable to leave the brothel's employ until they repaid their accrued debts in accordance with their contract.

Whether dealing with professional prostitute or R.A.A. recruit out of economic necessity, the temptation for brothel proprietors to manipulate the system was high. R.A.A. prostitutes received only 50 of the 100 yen they would earn for each "short time" customer and, from that, they would repay already-incurred upfront debts for food, board, and clothing to brothel proprietors as well as paying for future goods.⁵⁷ With little money left for debt reduction, the women had no choice but to continue selling themselves for the R.A.A. Though Lt. Colonel MacDonald never used the term "sexual slavery" in his memo, he argued that because many women remained prostitutes against their will due to contractual debt obligations, Japan's licensed prostitution system was inconsistent with the ideals of the Potsdam Declaration and, therefore, recommended SCAP issue directives to the Japanese government to abolish the licensed prostitution system, and abrogate all debts and contracts held therein. This would effectively destroy the R.A.A.'s legal hold on its "breakwater of flesh," as the women would be free to leave the profession without fear of contractual repercussions or debt repayment claims.⁵⁸

⁵⁶ MacDonald, H.H., "Elimination of Licensed Prostitution in Japan," 1

⁵⁷ Tanaka, *Japan's Comfort Women*, 147

⁵⁸ MacDonald, H.H., "Elimination of Licensed Prostitution in Japan," 1

MacDonald made his recommendations based on his expertise as a legal advisor. Shortly after MacDonald's memo circulated through the command, other Occupation personnel urged SCAP to address the brothel problem on moral grounds. On January 11, 1946, Major Stephan Duggan, representing the members of the joint Army-Navy Chaplain's Association, submitted a three-page memo to General MacArthur that stopped short of calling for a directive to end Japan's licensing system, but chose instead to focus on the moral degradation of the troops through their willingness to visit prostitutes. In particular, the memo decried the kind of mixed signals evident in Brigadier General Hoffman's actions to put brothels "off-limits," only to remove the order at a later date. Duggan argued this tacit approval of sexual fraternization between prostitutes and Occupation personnel "is producing moral degradation that is exceptionally widespread and unusually ruinous to the character of American troops."⁵⁹ Furthermore, Duggan indicted calls for the maintenance of licensed brothels with stricter oversight, calling this line of argument flawed and arguing that it served to "promote the growth of immorality."⁶⁰

Of particular concern to the chaplains of the Association were the "pro-stations" in which members of the Army Medical Corps handed out prophylaxis to GIs waiting to enter R.A.A. brothels. To Duggan, their presence showed cooperation with, if not approval of, the R.A.A., and exposed the medical corps members manning each "pro-station" with undue temptation to become customers themselves. Finally, the accessibility of R.A.A. brothels tempted what Duggan describes as the "middle group" of each Occupation unit, or those that, "stand between those on the one side who can consistently resist temptations to sexual immorality and those on

⁵⁹ AG(B)01023, Stephen H. Duggan, *Suppression of Prostitution*, microfiche, Materials on the Allied Occupation of Japan, National Diet Library, 1

⁶⁰ AG(B)01023, *Suppression of Prostitution*, 2

the other side who are determined to indulge themselves with prostitutes whenever possible.”⁶¹

The continued presence of “pro-stations” and officers who approved of R.A.A. brothels because of their controlled status failed, in Duggan’s mind, to protect this “middle group” from sexual temptation and edged the entire command closer to widespread immoral behavior.

To combat the moral decay of Occupation personnel, Duggan’s letter outlined specific recommendations that received the unanimous approval of eighty-eight chaplains in the Army-Navy Chaplains’ Association. The most notable recommendations included immediate removal of “pro-stations” from the vicinity of Japanese brothels; that all houses of prostitution be put “off-limits” and that military police be used to enforce that directive; that moral education on prostitution and sexuality be done without tongue-in-cheek remarks about coitus and in conjunction with chaplains who could help communicate the moral lessons to GIs; and that the number of non-sexual recreational facilities and activities be increased to give Occupation soldiers more wholesome, healthy activities and diminish the sexual temptation of prostitutes.⁶²

Neither MacDonald nor Duggan argued for the outright abolition of prostitution in Japan. MacDonald’s letter argued for the illegality of the licensing system whereas Duggan argued that continued tacit approval of GI fraternization with prostitutes was morally reprehensible. Together, they formed a persuasive argument urging SCAP to take action to prevent contact between Japanese prostitutes and Occupation personnel. Not everyone within the Occupation, however, agreed with the letters’ rhetorical methods and Duggan’s letter, in particular, seemed to cause more stir than MacDonald’s. The office of the Chief Surgeon, which was instrumental in establishing the “pro-stations” at the organized brothels, expressed its opposition to the removal of the stations:

⁶¹ AG(B)01023, *Suppression of Prostitution*, 3

⁶² AG(B)01023, *Suppression of Prostitution*, 1-3

Until such a sense of morality has been developed in military personnel that they will not have illicit sexual intercourse or frequent houses of prostitution or until sufficient guard has been placed around such areas that no soldier can expose himself to venereal disease, it is believed to be the duty of the Medical Department to furnish the means whereby the onset of disease may be avoided. This is consistent with the spirit of preventative medicine generally.⁶³

Rather than comment on the moral status of prostitution, the Chief Surgeon's response viewed the controversial "pro-stations" as a necessary protective response to rising venereal disease rates. The memo also refuted the idea that personnel staffing the "pro-stations" faced any more temptation than other GIs since the accessibility of the brothel would not change in accordance with the status of potential customers.

Regardless of the logistical debate on licensed prostitution, SCAP headquarters sided with MacDonald and Duggan that licensed prostitution both contradicted democratic values and posed a moral and health threat to SCAP troops. GHQ quickly made arrangements to communicate a directive to the Japanese government to outlaw the practice. On January 15, the Central Liaison Office sent a communication to the Japanese government that echoed H.H. MacDonald's legal argument, stating that "the maintenance of licensed prostitution in Japan is in contravention of the ideals of democracy and inconsistent with the development of individual freedom throughout the nation."⁶⁴ Whether it was the true catalyst for the directive is unknown, but MacDonald's legal opinion certainly held sway. Perhaps even more important to GHQ was the direct threat to the health and welfare of SCAP personnel posed by the R.A.A.'s sexual breakwater. The dyke had sprung a leak of venereal disease and the rising numbers of GIs infected raised the eyebrows of General Headquarters enough to act. It is conceivable that, unofficially, the VD rate served as the real catalyst for this change, but MacDonald's memo

⁶³ AG(B)01023, *Control of Venereal Disease*, microfiche, January 22, 1946, Materials on the Allied Occupation of Japan, National Diet Library, 1

⁶⁴ PHW-00858, *Abolition of Licensed Prostitution in Japan*, microfiche, January 21, 1946, Materials on the Allied Occupation of Japan, National Diet Library, 1

offered a strong rhetorical platform upon which SCAP could both address the VD issue and offer the perception that it valued and acted upon America's democratic moral principles as promised in July's Potsdam Declaration. As a follow-up to the initial memo, SCAP announced directive 642 (SCAPIN 642⁶⁵) to the Imperial Government entitled "Abolition of Licensed Prostitution in Japan." The full text reads: "[SCAP] Directs the Japanese Government to abrogate all laws or ordinances permitting licensed prostitution and nullify all contracts that have the object of committing women to prostitution"⁶⁶

Japan's acquiescence to SCAPIN 642 came on February 2, 1946 in the "Home Ministry Ordinance No. III" issued by the Minister of Home Affairs, Chuse Mitsuchi.⁶⁷ The same day, the Director of the Police Bureau in the Japanese Home Ministry followed up Ordinance No. III with a detailed memo to prefectural governors explaining how to carry out the ministry's orders:

1. All regional laws, ordinances and other enactments relative to licensed prostitution will be abrogated and annulled by Feb. 20th, this year.
2. Concerning licensed prostitution, all contracts and agreements which have as their object the binding or committing of any woman to the practice of prostitution shall be nullified.⁶⁸

SCAPIN 642 did not direct Japan's government to outlaw prostitution, but only the practice of licensing brothels and contracting women into prostitution. The R.A.A. could continue to operate its brothels as long as it abrogated all debts and contracts that kept any prostitutes in the R.A.A.'s employ against their will. Many women had no other place to go and chose to remain with the R.A.A., and the organization continued to function beyond the February 20 deadline. While it is unclear how many women R.A.A. brothel proprietors allowed to leave their employ, SCAP had

⁶⁵ SCAPINs served as brief official records of SCAP directives to the Japanese government and generally outlined a more detailed communiqué already sent through the Central Liaison Office.

⁶⁶ Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers Directives to the Japanese Government, (http://rnavi.ndl.go.jp/kensei/tmp/SCA_1.pdf)

⁶⁷ AG(B)01022, *The Home Ministry Ordinance No. III*, microfiche, February 2, 1946, Materials on the Allied Occupation of Japan, National Diet Library, 1

⁶⁸ AG(B)01022, *Notification re. Abolition of Licensed Prostitution*, microfiche, February 2, 1946, Materials on the Allied Occupation of Japan, National Diet Library, 1

anticipated a transition period for the ordinance to take effect and decided to act in its own interests in the meantime. On March 10, 1946, SCAP declared all R.A.A. establishments (brothel or otherwise) as “off limits” and instructed its military police to arrest any personnel found violating the “off limits” order. The lines of GIs waiting to enter R.A.A. brothels quickly dwindled and effectively choked off the source of financial survival to its “breakwater of flesh.” With the source of the R.A.A.’s profit drying up quickly, the organization closed twenty-one of its establishments throughout the Kantō region on March 27 and the entire enterprise would be effectively defunct by the end of the year.⁶⁹

CONCLUSION

Emperor Hirohito’s acceptance of the terms of the Potsdam Declaration created a wave of fear among both the general populace and members of the imperial government. On the whole, uncertainty of how the imminent occupation would transform Japan was the major catalyst for that fear. Japanese soldiers urged women to flee into the mountains to protect their daughters from rape. Military and political officials burned documents that might incriminate them in crimes against humanity. Hirohito formed a new Cabinet made up of imperial house members to try to legitimize the preservation of the imperial house to the Allied forces. Finally, the Recreation and Amusement Association formed at the urging of Vice Chancellor Prince Konoe to protect (most) Japanese women from sexual violence and preserve domestic sexuality from foreign influence, despite the brutal working conditions for many R.A.A. prostitutes.

Through the R.A.A., the government demonstrated its willingness to sacrifice some of its citizens to protect the greater good, a practice all too familiar to the newly defeated Japanese populace. Above all, despite its rhetoric of protecting the racial purity of Japan, the R.A.A. was a

⁶⁹ Shimokawa Kōshi, *Seifūzokushi Nenpyō, 1945-1989*, (Tokyo: Kawade Shobo Shinsha, 2007), 20, 23

self-serving organization that aimed to preserve the imperial house by showing SCAP the throne's willingness to cater to the Occupation's sexual appetites, while, perhaps more importantly, turn a profit by collecting upwards of 50% of prostitute income. It also took it upon itself to construct de facto categories of Japanese women as upstanding and others who were fit to be sacrificed in the R.A.A.'s sexual breakwater. Ultimately, shielded by the legality of the Japan's licensed prostitution system, the R.A.A. created what Occupation soldier and journalist Mark Gayn has called "the world's biggest white-slave traffic combine."⁷⁰

Beginning on August 28, Occupation personnel frequented R.A.A. brothels at an increasing rate, showing little concern for the wellbeing of the women servicing them. Only as venereal disease rates rose sharply did SCAP begin to investigate the legality of the brothels. In the end, Douglas MacArthur issued SCAPIN 642 directing the imperial government to prohibit the licensed prostitution system. SCAP's actions were also self-serving. SCAPIN 642 offered a way to diminish VD rates among personnel, while offering a chance to show Japan and the world that the Allied Occupation was a moral liberating force instead of imperialistic invaders. Eventually, SCAPIN 642 succeeded in ending the licensed prostitution system and the R.A.A. folded, but the unwillingness of SCAP to outlaw prostitution outright proved to be a major turning point for the Occupation as it faced an explosion of unlicensed streetwalking prostitution with numbers of women catering to Occupation personnel far outweighing those employed by the defunct R.A.A. and in less discernable surroundings.

⁷⁰ Mark Gayn, *Japan Diary*, (New York: William Sloane Associates, 1948), 232

Chapter Two The Female Body as “The Enemy”: Venereal Disease during the Occupation of Japan

Between December 6, 1948 and January 16, 1949, nine young girls in Kamenoyama City in Yamagata Prefecture complained of vaginal discomfort. An investigation by prefectural authorities found no common link between the girls except for a free public bathhouse separated by sex that they had all visited. The Yamagata Prefectural Health Department began testing elementary and middle-school girls in the area and launched a publicity campaign calling for voluntary submission to testing. They found an additional 82 cases of gonorrhea with 77 of them in girls under the age of 16. Of those testing positive, 53 had used the public hot springs. The investigation concluded that the establishment had failed to keep its water temperature above 42 degrees Celsius, which allowed the gonococcus virus to persist and infect subsequent bathers.¹ Three weeks into the investigation, the source of infection was traced to two prostitutes who allegedly used the facility.

The documents offer no insight into how the authorities came to the conclusion that two prostitutes had polluted the hot spring water with gonorrhea nor was there any information on tracking, identification, or testing of the alleged offenders for venereal disease. It appears that authorities made the assumption that only infected prostitutes using the facilities could possibly have tainted the waters. Because the victims predominantly fell within an age range in which sexual activity was considered rare, authorities did not question the innocence of the infected girls, and instead concluded that their innocence and health had been unwillingly violated by prostitutes. In actuality, considering that the hot spring were open to the public, other possible sources of the infection indubitably existed, but the authorities equated prostitution with VD and named the prostitutes the cause of the problem.

¹ PHW-00867, Isamu Nieda, *Juvenile Vaginitis in Yamagata*, microfiche, April 2, 1949, Materials on the Allied Occupation of Japan, National Diet Library, 1

The hot spring VD case is indicative of the general attitude of police and legislative authorities in dealing with the post-surrender health problem. This chapter argues that despite the fact that VD was an egalitarian disease, the rapid increase in numbers of streetwalking prostitutes (*pan pan* girls) catering predominantly to Occupation personnel allowed the health threat to be transposed onto the bodies of Japanese prostitutes tainted by what Japanese authorities perceived to be the real source of infection, Allied soldiers. The rise in the number of streetwalking prostitutes, and the correlative public threat that also arose, served to vindicate the Japanese government's position against abolishing its long-standing prostitution licensing system. Prior to its abolition, the government's major rationale for maintaining the legality of the licensed prostitution system was containment of venereal disease. With prostitution managed by government licensing and oversight, infected women could easily be identified through regular mandatory health screening and removed from the population until noninfectious. SCAP, however, viewed the licensing system as indenturing women to brothel proprietors through legally binding contracts. Thus, the system ran counter to the principles of democracy and SCAP outlawed it with SCAPIN 642. With this act, prostitution ceased to be under the control of the Japanese government, and Japanese authorities and the greater public alike began to perceive streetwalking prostitutes as vessels of infection that were spreading disease throughout Japan. *Pan pan* girls' main customers were Occupation personnel, and that connection presented a ready-made vehicle for painting both the *pan pan* girls and their customers in a negative light. From the perspective of Japanese authorities, buying and selling sex with the foreign invaders outside of the state oversight previously applied to licensed brothels brought both shame on the women and a heightened threat of venereal disease spreading from *pan pan* girls to the greater Japanese population. Japanese authorities, then, could utilize the osmotic relationship between

prostitute and Allied soldier to criticize the foreign Occupation by denouncing its Japanese lovers as threats to public health and morality.²

Despite the clearly anti-democratic nature of the licensed brothel system, there was some disagreement within SCAP on the merits of propping up Japan's licensing system as opposed to banishing it. For example, Public Health and Welfare (PHW) VD Control Officer and Japanese-American, Isamu Nieda, concurred with the Japanese government's stance on the issue. His primary concern was with containing the spread of venereal disease among Occupation personnel and, by extension, the Japanese public. Nieda argued that confining prostitution to licensed quarters allowed for containment of the disease and would limit access to carriers of infection and urged PHW to support maintaining the licensing system despite the coercive nature of the institution.

Unlike Nishida, however, General Headquarters' (GHQ) primary concern was not stemming the spread of venereal disease, despite the arguable practicality of doing so through Japan's licensing system. Instead, the larger issue was the licensing system's relationship to Occupation goals, namely the democratization and liberalization of Japanese society. Though SCAP had initially cooperated with the licensing system and tacitly encouraged Occupation soldiers to frequent the brothels by installing prophylactic stations on brothel grounds staffed by military police, by January 1946, General MacArthur had concluded that the licensing system was fundamentally in opposition to SCAP's democratic agenda because it limited the individual rights of members of a segment of the Japanese population by keeping them legally tied to their brothel employer until the terms of their contracts were met, usually in the form of debt

² Rumi Sakamoto, "Pan-pan Girls: Humiliating Liberation in Postwar Japanese Literature," *PORTAL*, vol. 7, no. 2, July 2010, p.7

repayment for room and board. As a result, General MacArthur issued SCAPIN 642 directing the Japanese government to outlaw the institution on those grounds.

Because SCAPIN 642 did not direct the government to outlaw all prostitution, but focused only on *licensed* prostitution, many prostitutes formerly under contract with brothels ventured out to work for themselves. The most ready and willing customer base in postwar Japan was made up of the Occupation soldiers, so, naturally, the streetwalking prostitutes gravitated to areas near SCAP personnel, dressed in western-style clothes designed to entice the foreigners, and came to be called *pan pan* girls by the Japanese who saw them.³

In addition to the rise of streetwalking prostitution, more traditional forms of prostitution continued to exist. Under the authority of SCAPIN 642 the brothels catering to Japanese customers were required to release and abrogate any debts and contracts proprietors held over their prostitutes, but because they did not cater to Occupation personnel, their business remained relatively unchanged, and the brothels themselves remained in their existing locations. The static nature of the brothel dwellings, however, made for easy identification and designation of “Off Limits” boundaries for SCAP personnel in an attempt by GHQ to curb unhealthy fraternization and the spread of VD. SCAPIN 642 did allow for the spread of prostitution services beyond the simple brothel-streetwalker dichotomy. The abolition of state-sponsored prostitution blurred the lines between brothels and other entertainment or recreation establishments as proprietors quickly realized the profit potential in selling sex along with coffee, tea, or dancing. Unlike traditional brothels, these establishments that laundered prostitution through a legitimate business front posed a much more difficult task for SCAP to identify as establishments of

³ There is no consensus on how streetwalking prostitutes came to be known as *pan pan* girls, only that the phrase came into the popular vernacular shortly after SCAPIN 642. It is clear, however, that only streetwalking prostitutes, and not those prostitutes working at traditional-styled brothels received the *pan pan* moniker.

prostitution, place “Off Limits” due to their VD threat, and patrol by military police to ensure personnel adhered to the Off Limits order.

Both the prostitutes in these venues and the *pan pan* girls, became the new site for the projection of wartime distrust and hostility toward the enemy for both the Japanese government and Occupation authorities. To Japan’s government, uncontrolled prostitutes were conduits for the potential proliferation of venereal disease through sexual contact with the foreign invaders. To Occupation leadership, prostitutes represented a threat to the bodily health of its personnel that would undermine, if not destroy, the democratic goals of the Occupation. The prostitutes’ bodies would serve to reflect projections of surviving attitudes toward a devious wartime enemy from both American and Japanese perspectives.

From the perspective of SCAP leadership, indoctrinating Occupation soldiers on avoiding and handling threats posed by Japanese prostitutes was paramount to portraying the image of a disciplined and moral occupying force to Japan and the world, but was also essential to maintaining the health and well-being of its personnel. As it became clear that SCAPIN 642 would merely allow prostitution to continue in non-licensed forms rather than shutting it down altogether, SCAP moved quickly to limit contact between Occupation personnel and prostitutes as a preventive measure. All known houses of prostitution, both those catering to Japanese clientele and those catering to Occupation clientele through the Recreation and Amusement Association (R.A.A.), were placed “Off Limits.” Military Police began tacking up conspicuous signs declaring each brothel “Off Limits” and warnings of “VD.” MPs patrolled the known prostitution houses and were ordered to arrest any SCAP personnel caught breaking the Off Limits order. These strategies served to greatly reduce the numbers of Occupation clientele frequenting R.A.A. establishments, effectively driving the R.A.A. out of business. However, they

had little effect on the business of the non-R.A.A. brothels as they had served few foreign customers in the first place.

As predicted by Nishida and the Japanese government, control of unlicensed, non-brothel based prostitution posed a much larger problem. Once prostitution had moved out into the streets, and legally into venues such as coffee shops and bars that were not distinguished by physical building facades or signage advertising the nature of the business, Off Limits orders proved difficult to enforce and the Japanese government was no longer able to provide organized health checks. As a result, in the aftermath of SCAPIN 642, venereal disease rates among Occupation personnel rose considerably as the numbers of unregulated *pan pan* girls catering to the Occupation grew. By the end of 1946, Occupation-wide reported cases of venereal disease infection numbered 235,000. The next year the number rose to 400,000 cases with a further increase to 470,000 reported cases in 1948.⁴ It is unclear how many of these were the same patient with repeated infections, but regardless the numbers indicate a skyrocketing infection rate that coincided with the abolition of the licensing system and raised major concerns for SCAP command about the physical and moral health of its occupying force. Moreover, the rise of legal streetwalking prostitution cemented Japanese suspicions that the Occupation's reforms would negatively influence domestic concepts of proper sexuality and with the demise of the R.A.A., Japanese officials would need to find new ways to contain that influence and promote a Japanese-centered sexuality in an effort to maintain public order.

⁴ Isamu Nishida, VD Control Officer, Public Health and Welfare Section, *Venereal Disease Statistics* (May 16, 1949), *Materials on the Allied Occupation of Japan*, National Diet Library, Microfiche PHW-00867

TAMING THE VD THREAT

In an effort to create internal access to information about VD and to bolster the moral fight against prostitution, chaplains, commanders, and doctors all contributed to SCAP's Public Health and Welfare Division's (PHW) new "Venereal Disease Control Indoctrination Course" designed for use throughout the Far East Command to instruct officers how and what to teach their subordinates. Eschewing practical information such as proper condom use, the course focused instead on providing information on abstinence, emphasizing discipline, and reinforcing the importance of moral values by commanders and subordinates alike by announcing "Less talk about VD is in order and more talk about how to live a...disciplined and self-respecting life [is necessary]." ⁵ The course firmly charged commanders with the responsibility of controlling VD by calling into question their effectiveness as leaders should VD overrun their units. The course materials furnished to unit commanders state,

The control of venereal disease depends in large part upon the state of discipline in an organization. That is why venereal disease control is a responsibility of command. A high incidence of venereal disease in a command, unit or organization shall be regarded as indicative of a lack of efficiency on the part of the commander concerned...The control of venereal disease is a command function...it is not a medical problem. ⁶

Venereal disease rates, therefore, were just one more measure of leadership. Effective leaders would work through the established chain of command in their units to persuade their soldiers to behave appropriately. Venereal disease rates thus became another measure by which leaders would be judged and orderly commands would be distinguished from the disorderly.

⁵ Primus Bennet, Chaplain (Capt.), General Headquarters, Far East Command, *The Commanding Officer's use of his Chaplains to impress moral responsibility and self-discipline in his command, Venereal Disease Indoctrination Course*, (December 4, 1947), p.1, *Materials on the Allied Occupation of Japan*, National Diet Library, Microfiche PHW-00851

⁶ General Headquarters, Far East Command, *Introduction, Venereal Disease Control Indoctrination Course*, (December 4, 1947), p.4, *Materials on the Allied Occupation of Japan*, National Diet Library, Microfiche PHW-00851

The content of the VD Indoctrination Course was championed especially loudly by chaplains, but they also recognized that the US armed forces also already provided adequate practical information to troops on condoms and VD prevention through indoctrination videos like “Sex Hygiene,” which offered graphic images of venereal diseases and their effects coupled with proper condom usage as a means to prevent the transmission of VD.⁷ Moreover, resigned to the reality that sexual contact would inevitably happen despite SCAP’s best attempts to counter it, the Army Medical Corps made condoms readily available to troops at military clinics. The VD Control Indoctrination Course materials, however, offered a moral component to complement these more practical activities. In justifying the course, the Chaplains argued that “promiscuity is a social maladjustment; individualism gone berserk with no regard to social responsibility...sex will always involve internal struggle...the imperatively necessitous individual is a psychiatric deviate and pervert and the sex criminal.”⁸ By connecting moral self-discipline to a greater sense of responsibility to their immediate community, Chaplains hoped to instigate self-policing and elicit group pressure that would persuade personnel to make more moral sexual choices. Well indoctrinated troops, ideally, would stop each other from engaging in immoral promiscuity before the fact, thus saving them from moral perversion while upholding the moral standing of the greater unit.

Despite the hope that soldiers’ moral selves would prevent them from sexual fraternization, chaplains and secular SCAP personnel agreed that the number of opportunities that Occupation personnel had to be in contact with potentially infected Japanese needed to be reduced significantly through sanctioned programming designed to occupy their free time. The VD Control Course called for SCAP unit commanders to create voluntary recreational programs

⁷ “Sex Hygiene,” (film, United States Army, 1942), <http://revver.com/video/635299/wwii-army-sex-hygiene-film/>

⁸ Bennett, Primus, Chaplain (Capt.), Microfiche PHW-00851

called “Special Services” that would help reduce troop idleness: “Here we are concerned with the soldier’s leisure time...those bewitching eight hours during which light becomes dark. It is a vulnerable period for gratification of basic desires.”⁹ The course charged commanders with expanding and promoting Special Services to encourage personnel to participate in intramural competitive sports, attend military-sponsored film screenings, explore libraries, visit approved sightseeing areas, or any other “wholesome” activities created at the discretion of each unit commander. These venues for recreation activities served as opportune places to reinforce the anti-prostitution stance of the Occupation through carefully chosen propaganda. For example, commanders posted charts in recreation areas detailing the unit rates of VD alongside posters depicting “wholesome” soldiers participating in “wholesome” activities (like sports) to reinforce individual responsibility during their tour of duty. Commanders hoped the juxtaposition of the propaganda with the VD charts would reinforce the acceptability and safety of “wholesome” ventures to keep soldiers from engaging in non-wholesome acts and consequently contracting VD.¹⁰

Even with increased access to activities designed to keep personnel from idleness, the Special Services program supported some fraternization between Occupation personnel and Japanese women within proper contexts. The VD Control Indoctrination Course understood that young men, no matter how many sports activities and films SCAP provided, would inevitably yearn for the company of the opposite sex. Through Special Services, commanders attempted to cleave desirable fraternization from the undesirable:

Any good girl is safe with an American soldier. Whereas a good soldier is not always safe with any girl. Have service club hostesses compile lists of junior hostesses, and then be sure that they have a dance hall or other place of recreation (officers’ club, if

⁹ *Special Services, Venereal Disease Control Indoctrination Course*, p.4, Microfiche, PHW-008514

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p.2-3

necessary). Encourage officers to drop in for a while and show their interest at these functions.¹¹

“Wholesome” women, such as service club hostesses, clerical staff, and operators under SCAP employ, would be recruited for sanctioned dances and socials where soldiers could interact with the right type of women under the watchful gaze of the chain of command.

“Wholesome” Japanese women were those who worked together with SCAP toward its occupation goals, but Japanese women not in the employ of SCAP were continually being portrayed as potential VD threats to its personnel and discouraged fraternization outside of Special Service events. One command even created a VD museum in which soldiers could view carefully crafted exhibits designed to educate the soldier on the wrong kind of woman and the threat she posed to the soldier and, by extension, SCAP as a whole:

The sliding doors of a Japanese bedroom are opened to reveal a voluptuous figure of a Japanese woman in a semi-reclining position. The room is a typically Oriental room, and a bottle of liquor, cigarettes and clothing are strewn about to heighten the illusion. A sign is posted with the wording “Come in, GIs and see what I have for you”...on the west wall of the room is a large poster titled “A B C’s of VD in Japan.” This poster has the following statements on it: 1. VD is acquired only through sex contact. 2. If there is no sex contact there is no VD. 3. It is not harmful to keep away. You don’t need a woman twice a week or twice a month or twice a year to keep healthy. 4. If you do expose yourself you must learn to take the proper precautions; a condom and a pro, because: 5.9 of 10 Japanese women you can pick up have VD.¹²

The museum ultimately reinforced the concept of self-control as the best means to avoid VD while simultaneously painting 59% of Japanese women as alluring carriers of VD intent on sexual contact with Occupation personnel. It is unclear how they arrived at 59%, though the implication was less that two-thirds of the female population carries VD and more that any woman in Japan has the potential to carry and infect others, thus painting “women [they] can pick up” in a negative light was key to indoctrinating SCAP personnel in proper moral choices.

¹¹ *Special Services*, 3

¹² PHW-00854, *Description of Disease Museum*, microfiche, November 24, 1948, Materials on the Allied Occupation of Japan, National Diet Library, 1

The visual and textual materials of the VD museum echoed the fears cultivated in the United States by American wartime propaganda that portrayed American women as possible “trophies” of war in an imminent Japanese invasion. Racialized caricatures of Japanese soldiers draping a naked white woman over the shoulder like a caveman or a clawed Japanese hand over the mouth of a shocked and defenseless white American woman with a knife to her throat dominated the American propaganda machine in hopes of spurring on purchases of war bonds and conservation of raw materials. Visually, viewers understood immediately that the enemy was a brutal thug looking to do nothing more than to inflict violence on the innocence embodied in America’s women. Unlike Rosie the Riveter, whose body represented feminine strength (if not masculine strength in female bodies), wartime anti-Japanese propaganda painted (white) women’s bodies as fragile, vulnerable, vessels destined to be raped at the hands of the villainous Japanese.¹³

For the United States, it was in its best interest to play on Americans’ fears cultivated by this kind of propaganda by demonstrating the vulnerability of the home front coupled with a solution designed to strengthen it (bonds, material conservation, etc.). In contrast, propaganda designed for consumption by American troops portrayed the bodies of women in a much different light. It warned of foreign women as “loose,” VD carrying whores. Susan Gubar argues that wartime propaganda, while raising American women to an angelic standard of purity and grace that should be defended, demoted foreign women as the “femme fatale” whose loose sexuality threatened the physical well-being of the individual soldier and, by extension, the entire American military.¹⁴ For the most part, propaganda that constructed women in this way focused primarily on European women (always white) as the source of infection. For example, a Pulitzer

¹³ John Dower, *War Without Mercy: Race and Power in the Pacific War*, (New York: Pantheon, 1993), 7-9

¹⁴ Susan Gubar, “This is My Rifle, This is My Gun,” in Jenson Higgonet, Collins Weitz Michel, eds., *Behind the Lines: Gender and the Two World Wars*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1987, 240

Prize winning editorial cartoon by C.D. Batchelor portrayed “war” as a syphilitic, skull-headed prostitute. Salvador Dali, too, was commissioned by the US Department of State to produce an anti-VD propaganda poster. The 1942 result was a cleverly conceived depiction of two prostitutes exposing their garters and walking side-by-side to form a white skull while a young soldier looks on in horror.

Occupied Japan, however, posed a different problem for maintaining the bodily health of its soldiers. The fighting had ceased, Japan was defeated, and the need for combat-ready, healthy soldiers, much to the chagrin of military leaders, seemed less important to the average occupation soldier than celebrating victory with a willing population of Japanese prostitutes. This celebratory attitude and rather romanticized view of the occupier’s role in defeated Japan was embodied in a popular Occupation-era comic strip by Bill Hume called *Babysan*. Started as a “local pinup to help boost the morale of servicemen in Japan,”¹⁵ *Babysan* would quickly grow in popularity and be published in the *Navy Times*. Later, Hume published collected *Babysan* strips in two books: *Babysan: A Private Look at the Japanese Occupation* and *Babysan’s World: The Hume’n Slant on Japan* in 1953 and 1954, respectively. Hume never states that the observations he offers in *Babysan* are based on *pan pan*, but it becomes clear that *Babysan* is a representation of the trophy Japanese woman conquered by American GIs. The introduction to the 1953 book states:

The many faceted personality of Babysan was not an imaginary product. Her name was a fiction but her existence was a fact. Among the sailors in the paint locker her escapades were recounted. In the offices there were stories of how she frowned on her officer boyfriend who continually brought her cartons of corn flakes as a token of his affection. In the barracks her boyfriends admitted to each other that she had caught them butterflying – romantically cheating. In clubs and on the streets she could be seen and appreciated.¹⁶

¹⁵ Bill Hume, *Babysan: A Private Look at the Japanese Occupation*, (Tokyo: Kasuga Boeki K. K., 1953), 6

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 7

Babysan appears to be an amalgam of the Japanese women, be they prostitute or steady girlfriend, with whom GIs came into contact. The strips portray *Babysan* as promiscuous and with a strong affection for money. Her actions and attitude demonstrate the economic need that drove many Japanese women into life as *pan pan* and she finds a willing population awash in disposable income in the servicemen. Though *Babysan* is never called a prostitute or *pan pan*, her portrait is clearly a backhanded wink to the reader as her image and character are firmly embedded in the postwar Japanese prostitute.

Hume, however, is careful to show that, far from being compelled into sleeping with Occupation personnel for survival, *Babysan* is a willing and eager participant in the relationship. Hume writes, “As the members of the armed forces loved *Babysan*, so did *Babysan* love them. A carefree and charming girl, *Babysan* never forgot the acts of kindness on the part of the American. She decided, in fact, to devote herself to the cause of the American serviceman in Japan.”¹⁷ Hume’s *Babysan* balks at the idea that the Americans took advantage of destitute Japanese women. Instead, she supported and believed in the mission of the Americans to such an extent that she volunteered herself as a devotee to the American reform mission by giving herself to Occupation personnel. For Hume, it was important that *Babysan* embrace America’s presence in a defeated Japan and that she cooperate with and see the good in American cultural practices. Yet, she is careful not to give away too much of her own cultural identity. In doing so, *Babysan* “tames” the reforms and the Occupation by demonstrating the value in what it has to offer while communicating that in spite of American-led change, Japan will retain its cultural roots.

It is important to remember that *Babysan*’s audience was the American GI, not the Japanese public at large. Hume’s message looked to recommunicate the Occupation agenda of reform through playful sexual innuendo and the portrayal of willing sexual partners who voiced

¹⁷ Hume, *Babysan*, 7

an affinity for American customs. *Babysan* reinforced that America's presence changed Japan for the better and that the Japanese public eagerly embraced American-led reform.

Babysan is typical of the revamped, Americanized Japan. Even her name reveals the startling blend of the two countries. *San* may be assumed to mean mister, missus, master or miss. Babysan, then, can be translated to mean "Miss Baby." The American, seeing a strange girl on the street, can't just yell, "hey baby." He is in Japan, where politeness is a necessity and not a luxury, so he deftly adds the title of respect. It speeds up introductions.¹⁸

Yet, Hume's comic strips continually displayed a hierarchy between the American GIs and Japanese prostitutes, often on racial terms. In fact, Hume's second collection of *Babysan* comic strips puns the term "slant" as both a racial slur for East Asians and a point of view.¹⁹ In the strips themselves, the distinction is more subtle, yet it remains present, usually in the form of negative descriptions of the promiscuity and materialism of Japanese prostitutes. One particular strip informs GIs, "If you've only been in Japan two hours, then you probably don't know that 'presento' means a present or gift! Of course, you already know what a butterfly is!"²⁰ Another strip shows Babysan walking along the street in a western print blouse, scarf, and skirt while wearing Japanese wooden sandals (*geta*). A sailor is thumbing through a wad of money as Babysan's head swings around to gawk at the cash. The caption underneath reads, "Nevah hoppen – whoops – it hoppen!"²¹ Yet another shows an American soldier lying on his stomach next to Babysan and she asks him, "Why you all time bring candy – why never bring *okane* (money)?"²²

Despite the character transgressions of Babysan, Hume never judges the GIs who pay for her services. He offers no moral admonishment of married servicemen who practice infidelity

¹⁸ Hume, *Babysan*, 16

¹⁹ Bill Hume, *Babysan's World: The Hume'n Slant on Japan*, (Tokyo: Tuttle, 1954)

²⁰ Hume, *Babysan's World*, 60

²¹ Hume, *Babysan*, 31

²² *Ibid.*, 33

while away from home. The only mention of infidelity comes in a *Babysan* strip in which she says to her suitor, “Maybe you A.W.O.L. from wife – ne?”²³ The GI looks on, holding a cigarette with a wedding band on his finger, completely without surprise or shame. Babysan, however, has a bright smile and seems content to be the other woman. Even here, Hume focuses less on the extramarital nature of the relationship, but suggests instead that the Japanese women are “easy,” even when knowing the marital status of a GI.

Combating the tongue-in-cheek and paternalistic vision of occupied Japan that was in the minds of GIs as portrayed in *Babysan* was an uphill battle for SCAP. It attempted to do so by rolling out its own propaganda and moral suasion plans to contain the spread of VD. The underlying idea of this propaganda was that the military body needed to be transformed from a fighting force of the sort needed to defeat the Japanese enemy at war into a healthy body of peaceful, democracy-loving, moral American soldiers. Setting this example was a key component of SCAP’s effort to persuade the Japanese public that American principles were superior to Japan’s and that freedom and democracy could only work in Japan if the Japanese aspired to be more like Americans. A promiscuous mob of American soldiers sleeping around with Japanese prostitutes and spreading VD severely undermined the vision SCAP hoped to portray under scrutiny from Japan and the world, especially to the American public who understood the Occupation to be one of liberation and role modeling for what a peaceful, democratic Japan could become. The VD Control Indoctrination Course used this pressure of being in the global eye to underscore the importance of a moral Occupation force to the successful completion of SCAP’s mission, but also to make grandiose claims regarding its connection to the very survival of the United States:

²³ Hume, *Babysan*, 65

Scrutiny will be performed by not only patriotic and foresighted groups of American citizens and individuals in a constructive manner, but by foreign, even subversive elements which are constantly trying to weaken our military establishment as the first step or as an entering wedge in the actual destruction of our way of life and our country.²⁴

An immoral, disease-ridden American military, in short, would allow America's enemies to exploit that weakness and would ultimately topple the American political system. Educating Occupation personnel on how to avoid VD, then, was key to communicating to the world the strength of both the American military and American values, and to keeping America safe from attack.

Despite the attempt to protect Occupation personnel from disease through education programs like the VD Control Indoctrination Course and the VD Museum, Occupation documents do not reveal any internal discussion on the logistics of barring personnel from purchasing services from prostitutes. Even the VD Museum seemed to undermine its own message by preaching the necessity of a condom and a pro kit in the event of possible exposure to VD. It seems SCAP, despite its best attempts to steer its personnel away from Japanese prostitutes, found unhealthy fraternization to be inevitable. Indeed, SCAP created a contact tracing protocol to question soldiers returning from recreation passes specifically about any sexual contact during their absence. Each soldier would fill out a check sheet and indicate whether he had "illicit sexual intercourse" during his pass. Those that admitted to the sexual contact took penicillin tablets in the presence of a commanding officer and were then subjected to an interview to cull as many specific details about the sexual partner as possible. All details were recorded and shared with the Japanese police to track down and determine the need for treatment should the woman be found.²⁵ Contact tracing relied on the recollection of GIs and was,

²⁴ PHW-00851, *Venereal Disease Control Indoctrination*, 1

²⁵ C.C. Carter, Colonel, AGD, *Venereal Disease Control, Memo* (December 6, 1948), p.1-2, *Materials on the Allied Occupation of Japan*, National Diet Library, Microfiche PHW-00867

therefore, an imperfect instrument for VD control. Nevertheless, it does point to an attempt by SCAP to implement some mechanism of oversight after the abolition of the licensed prostitution system.

The contact tracing protocol highlights SCAP's attitude toward the civilian reservoir of infection as well as its tenuous relationship to the Japanese law enforcement agencies. Despite taking great pains to delineate acceptable Japanese women from those that posed potential health threats, SCAP was unwilling to take heavy-handed coercive measures aimed at minimizing the rate of infection of Japanese women to reduce the threat to Occupation personnel. The "chain-of-command" approach could be worked within the military apparatus as it was a well-established form of military discipline and instruction, but the infectious threat of Japanese women was a civilian problem and SCAP lacked the personnel to handle domestic law and order, especially as the years of occupation waned. By July 1949, SCAP's General Headquarters declared that the investigation and prosecution of Japanese prostitutes who catered to Occupation personnel would be handled exclusively by Japanese authorities under the jurisdiction of Japan's penal code.²⁶

Short of outlawing prostitutes by SCAP directive and risk appearing too heavy handed after SCAPIN 642 changed the landscape of Japanese prostitution, SCAP did urge the Japanese legislature to outlaw prostitution of its own accord.

It has been the policy of this headquarters to encourage effective legislative control of prostitution through informal approach. To this end, legislation designed to prohibit prostitution, and promote public health and welfare through the regulation of prostitution has been encouraged.²⁷

²⁶ *Disposition of Cases Involving Violation of the Venereal Disease Prevention Law and the Tokyo Metropolitan Ordinance Concerning the Control of Prostitution, etc.*, (July 14, 1949), p. 1, *Materials on the Allied Occupation of Japan*, National Diet Library, Box 351, Folder 9

²⁷ *Control of Venereal Diseases, Letter to General Officer Commanding British Commonwealth Occupation Forces, Kure Japan*, (July 31, 1948), p.1, *Materials on the Allied Occupation of Japan*, National Diet Library

A Japanese-created law outlawing the practice would serve as proof of the effectiveness of SCAP as a model of morality for the occupied nation and would give the impression of progress to the global community. Brigadier General E.S. Wetzel, in particular, advanced this opinion by arguing that “such legislation has marked the beginning of real venereal disease control in each modern nation that has an effective program.”²⁸ An aggressive, national stance against prostitution would make Japan appear more liberalized and “civil” in accordance with SCAP’s mission objectives, both communicating the success of the Occupation and providing evidence that Japan was progressing toward rejoining the world as a moral democratic nation as defined by predominantly American judgments.

FIGHTING THE *PAN PAN*

Despite SCAP’s hopes, Japan never passed a law outlawing prostitution during the Occupation years, politicians did pass legislation designed to help fight the rising venereal disease problem. As a means to help protect both Occupation personnel and Japanese citizens alike, the Japanese Diet passed the Venereal Disease Prevention Law on July 15, 1948. While the VD Prevention Law did not criminalize prostitution outright, Article 26 states that “any person who, though the person has knowledge of suffering from VD liable to infect others, performs prostitution, shall be liable to imprisonment.” Police would then remand those arrested under the VD Prevention Law to a hospital to receive medical treatment to cure the disease.²⁹ Initially, the VD Prevention Law proved difficult to enforce since proving that infected prostitutes had prior knowledge of their infection before prostituting themselves was near impossible. In theory, the

²⁸ E.S. Wetzel, Brigadier General, *Venereal Disease Control, Letter*, (November 5, 1947) p. 2, *Materials on the Allied Occupation of Japan*, National Diet Library, Microfiche PHW-00861

²⁹ *Venereal Disease Prevention Law, full text*, (July 15, 1948), *Materials on the Allied Occupation of Japan*, National Diet Library, Microfiche PHW-02410

law was an attempt to address the problem of oversight and treatment after the abolition of the licensing system. In reality, it was overly vague and heavy handed as it allowed police to assume that prostitutes were infected regardless of their actual medical condition as they would be admitted for VD treatment when arrested without even undergoing initial VD testing. Still, with all its limitations, the VD Prevention Law was the first national-level attempt by the Japanese legislature to address the rising VD rates and attempt to replace the health care elements of the licensed prostitution system abolished under SCAPIN 642.

Japanese police were frustrated with the vague wording of the law and SCAP received reports that Japanese police indiscriminately rounded up suspected prostitutes and sent them to hospitals for testing.³⁰ They charged those that tested positive for venereal disease under the VD Prevention Law, but released the uninfected.³¹ Not all women nabbed in the stings worked as prostitutes, and many Japanese women who felt unfairly targeted by the law wrote letters to Douglas MacArthur pleading their cases. Though their cases fell within the jurisdiction of Japanese law, MacArthur, as the Supreme Commander of the Occupation, represented an outlet to which citizens could plead against all sorts of unfair treatment. SCAP investigated these instances after several women who were forced to take medical exams complained that they were not prostitutes at all and that the police had taken them into custody by mistake. SCAP quickly issued a memo of clarification to Japanese police authorities, stating that though the scope of the VD Prevention Law was to reduce the amount of infection among prostitutes, prostitution itself remained a legal practice and, as such, police could only arrest an individual who had broken a law. The VD Prevention Law did not grant police the power to wrangle any woman they

³⁰ *Special Campaign Report*, (February 28, 1950), *Materials on the Allied Occupation of Japan*, National Diet Library, Microfiche, CAS(A)-06909, p.1

³¹ *Communication from Japanese National Rural Police, letter*, (November 16, 1948), p.2,

suspected of being a prostitute.³² SCAP felt this clarification was necessary to protect the integrity of prostitutes' civil liberties, but in making it, they rendered the VD Prevention Law functionally useless as a direct tool to combat the growing VD problem. To circumvent the law's restrictions and try to ensure that cases of VD could be identified and treated, police utilized lesser laws to make arrests such as the "Minor Offenses Law" of 1948 which threatened punishment for "a person who, having no means of support but possessing the physical ability to work, nevertheless, lacks the inclination to follow a trade or occupation and prowls about without fixed residence."³³ Once police arrested a prostitute under the Minor Offenses Law they could legally apply the VD Prevention Law to test and treat diseased prostitutes. In this way, despite its inherent limitations, the VD Prevention Law proved to be the most important and widely used sex-related legislation enacted during the Occupation years.

Meanwhile, SCAP continued to broach the subject of a nationwide prohibition of prostitution with Japanese authorities. In May of 1948, Public Health and Welfare officials, led by VD Control Officer Dr. Isamu Nieda, met with several members of the Welfare Committee in the Japanese House of Representatives to discuss the issue. The legislative group's general consensus was that though the idea of a prostitution-free Japan was enticing, the logistics behind such a venture would make it impossible for Japan. They argued that prohibition would neither eliminate prostitution nor help reduce the VD problem. In fact, the fear of prosecution would drive prostitutes "underground," rendering it less visible and thus less easy to manage. Diseased prostitutes would disperse into "wholesome" areas of cities "spreading immorality and venereal disease all over the city." Falling back on the same view of male sexuality that had been used to justify the comfort system and the R.A.A., they also argued that prohibition would remove the

³² *Communication from Japanese National Rural Police*, 1

³³ Joe B.C. Williams, *Solicitation of Troops for Purposes of Prostitution, Memo*, (October 26, 1950), p.2, *Materials on the Allied Occupation of Japan*, National Diet Library, Box 263, Folder 11

legal means for men to release sexual desire and would result in higher rates of rape being perpetrated upon non-prostitutes.³⁴

The legislators' responses reveal a delineation between prostitutes and the rest of the Japanese population that survived beyond SCAPIN 642. Just as the Recreation and Amusement Association hoped to create a "breakwater for the nation" by recruiting Japanese women to "comfort" the Occupation personnel as a means to keep foreign sexual aggression in check, the Diet members transposed that breakwater mentality to the *pan pan* girls. As long as they were associated with the sexual desire of the Occupation, they would be considered as distinct from the Japanese population, yet they served the useful function of protecting the general population from the spread of the foreigners' VD, at least to a point. Whereas the R.A.A. had been firmly entrenched in the licensing system, allowing for relatively easy identification and treatment of VD cases, *pan pan* girls were less contained and presented much greater risk to the wider Japanese population as a result. Although the *pan pan* girls concentrated their movements around SCAP bases to cater predominantly to Occupation personnel, this non-R.A.A. breakwater was much more porous, and because *pan pan* girls did not fall under government control, they represented a negative form of prostitution and a threat to public health through their association with Occupation servicemen and their VD. However, they nonetheless helped keep SCAP soldiers occupied, and that had been one of the basic aims of the R.A.A. From the legislators' perspective, a nationwide ban on prostitution would be counter-productive as the new makeshift breakwater would move underground, leaving Japanese women outside of the sex trade more vulnerable to the Occupation force's perceived sexual aggression and disease.

³⁴ Isamu Nieda, M.D., *Discussion of Proposed Anti-prostitution Legislation with Diet Members, memo*, (May 28, 1948), p. 1-2, *Material on the Allied Occupation of Japanese, National Diet Library*, Microfiche PHW-00848

Despite the service they did for the nation, *pan pan* girls were widely looked down upon by Japanese citizens. Scholar Rumi Sakamoto argues that part of the animosity toward *pan pan* girls stems from their flamboyant sexuality and their failure to live up to the prewar conceptualizations of ideal Japanese women:

Generally speaking, the ‘pan-pan girls’ are not marked with traditionally available feminine gender codes such as shyness, modesty, naivety, and loyalty. Instead they are characterized as having flippant manners and vulgar speech, and as rejecting the ‘good wife, wise mother’ ideology...their non-reproductive sexuality sets them apart from the normative Japanese gender role of wives and mothers.³⁵

Certainly, Japanese women prostituting themselves to Occupation personnel gave the impression that they rejected the wife and mother idiom, but more traditional brothel-based prostitutes also displayed “non-reproductive sexuality” at odds with the “good wife, wise mother” concept. The *pan pan* girls, however, seemed to be compartmentalized separately from brothel prostitutes despite sharing the same profession.

In an effort to understand the public sentiment on prostitution and to gauge support for a possible nationwide prostitution ban, SCAP’s Attorney General’s office asked the National Public Opinion Research Institution of the Japanese Government to conduct a survey of Japanese men and women across the nation in 1949. The results showed that the promulgation of SCAPIN 642 and the resulting diversification of modes of prostitution had created a mental rift among the general public. 77% of respondents supported the legal prohibition of streetwalking prostitution. Conversely, 70% opposed criminalizing traditional brothels and cited a social need for brothels to keep sexual crime low with one 38-year old farmer from Chiba Prefecture arguing that outlawing all forms of prostitution would cause “crimes of violence and rape against women [to]

³⁵ Sakamoto, “Pan-pan Girls,” 6-7

flourish.”³⁶ A 35-year old housewife in Ibaragi Prefecture likewise believed that traditional brothels served a social purpose, but that streetwalking prostitution was distasteful.

As far as I’m concerned, the ideal thing to do would be to eliminate the street girls and leave something like the women of the licensed quarters. Have them registered there, and gradually the street girls will move over there. I think it would be best not to have a complete prohibition.³⁷

The results of the survey were clear. A nationwide ban on prostitution would receive overwhelming public support if prostitution only meant the *pan pan* girls. In SCAP’s summary of the results, the survey states:

The *pan pan* girl, with her brazen painted face and manners, her frizzy hair, her garish western clothes, is unfamiliar, obtrusive, conspicuous, an eyesore, a disorderly element. Because she is clearly visible, she forces people to be aware of her existence. The traditional organized houses, however, are orderly and inconspicuous. Thus, for many people the term prostitution, with its implications of public immorality, irregularity, and degeneration, refers to the streetwalkers rather than to organized houses.³⁸

The survey report confirms Sakamoto’s claim that it was the *pan pan* girls’ conduct and style of clothing that created the perception that they were anti-traditional. She wore “garish western clothes” and was conspicuous as she prowled the streets for customers. Her style and foreign clientele inextricably linked her to the Occupation while the traditional brothel prostitutes donned kimono, pinned their hair tightly to their heads, worked in back alley locations out of the public gaze, and catered to Japanese men. Their appearance was much more “domestic,” familiar as an institution, and acceptable to the Japanese public.

The *pan pan* girls’ conspicuousness as well as their difference served to remind the Japanese public that Japan was under foreign occupation. Their numbers proliferated because of SCAPIN 642, which not only changed the profession, but also transformed the urban landscape.

³⁶ *Survey Series: The Japanese People Look at Prostitution*, Civil Information and Education Section, Public Opinion and Sociological Research Division, (June 20, 1949), p. 24, *Materials on the Allied Occupation of Japan*, National Diet Library, Microfiche LS-16296

³⁷ *Ibid.*, 24

³⁸ *Ibid.*, 1

The *pan pan* girls embodied Japan's defeat and were a highly visible and unsavory manifestation of the establishment of SCAP authority over the defeated Japanese citizens. The brothel prostitutes, on the other hand, represented a time before defeat when Japan was sovereign, unoccupied, and well-ordered. Conspicuous and seemingly uncontrollable streetwalking prostitution disrupted that sense of social order and made it relatively easy for the Japanese public to equate *pan pan* girls to the encroachment of foreign sexuality as a result of occupation.

The split public perception of prostitution made both the Japanese government and Occupation officials wary of attempting a nationwide prohibition on the practice. Instead, they joined forces to support education programs to the Japanese public that provided accessible and accurate information on VD prevention. The largest education program was a joint venture between SCAP and Japan's Ministry of Welfare to commemorate the one-year anniversary of the enactment of the VD Prevention Law. The Ministry declared the first week in September of 1949 as "Venereal Disease Prevention Week" and launched a nationwide media outreach campaign designed to educate the public on VD. In addition to increased radio, film, and print ads, each prefecture received a subsidy to hold contests inviting the public to submit anti-VD-themed posters to display throughout the prefecture. A letter from the Vice-Minister of Welfare announcing VD Prevention Week to each prefectural governor argued for a greater need for publicly-accessible morality-based information portraying the spread of VD as threatening the health of individuals, their families, future generations and, by extension, Japan itself.³⁹ By calling upon the same tactics of moral suasion employed by the Occupation in dealing with its internal VD problem through its Indoctrination Course and the VD Museum, the Health Ministry hoped to instill a sense of self-discipline among Japanese citizens designed to protect the greater

³⁹ Vice-Minister of Welfare, *Sohatsu* #43, (July 21, 1949), p.1-2, *Materials on the Allied Occupation of Japan*, National Diet Library, Microfiche PHW-00866

good. It is not surprising, then, that many of the winning posters from the nationwide contest reaffirmed the connection between citizen health and the survival of the nation. One poster from Akita Prefecture used the slogan “VD Destroys Individual Offspring and The Nation.” Another stated “Prevent VD – It Destroys Yourself and Makes Your Offspring Cry.” Aichi Prefecture's winner was emblazoned with “The Wives Cry, Children Cry – Nation is Destroyed by VD.”⁴⁰ Just as SCAP equated soldiers' sexual health with the health of the unit, the American image, and the vulnerability of the United States as a whole, Japanese officials equated sexual health with family values and the preservation of a healthy nation, showing that, even after defeat, the Japanese government was not afraid to tap into wartime nationalism and its own history of the body politic when it suited its needs.

CONCLUSION

There is no question that the proliferation of *pan pan girls* created a major moral and health problem for both the Occupation and the Japanese public. The end of the licensing system that resulted from SCAPIN 642 made it much more difficult to identify sources of venereal disease and contain its spread through medical treatment. In addition, SCAP felt pressure to fall in line with public opinion and not heavily handedly outlaw prostitution as a whole, despite possessing the power to do so.

Much of the public support for the continued legality of prostitution lay in the traditional brothels staffed by unlicensed prostitutes who chose to remain in their employ following the enactment of SCAPIN 642. Their client base was primarily Japanese men and they worked in traditional brothels in inconspicuous locations where customers could come and go without

⁴⁰ *Information Material Furnished The Public Health Department, from Military Government, (1949), Materials on the Allied Occupation of Japan, National Diet Library, Microfiche PHW-00866*

feeling their sexual desires were put on display to the public. The *pan pan girls*, however, operated in full view of the public and placed their economic hopes in Occupation clientele. They served dual purposes for Japanese authorities and the public. On the one hand, they were visible reminders of Japan's wartime defeat and the changes that marked Japan as it submitted to foreign Occupation. By servicing the Occupation personnel, the *pan pan girls* were inextricably linked to a foreign sexuality as conduits for SCAP venereal disease as well as American cultural influence. Negativity toward the *pan pan girls* equated to negativity toward the Occupation itself. On the other hand, because Japanese men had the traditional brothels to frequent, the *pan pan girls* fell into the role previously held by the Recreation and Amusement Association prostitutes: the breakwater for the nation. By catering to the sexual needs of the foreign occupiers, the *pan pan girls* protected the nation from the possibility of even greater sexual threat. They were a necessary evil and as long as Japan was under foreign occupation, lawmakers never seriously pursued national legislation to outlaw prostitution despite the health threat it posed.

When Japan regained its sovereignty on April 28, 1952 under the terms of the San Francisco Peace Treaty, the attitude toward Occupation-era *pan pan* girls shifted from menace to victims. Under the Occupation, few Japanese publications heavily criticizing SCAP policy survived its Civil Censorship Detachment, but upon Japan's return to sovereignty Japanese authors began to flex their new freedoms. With the Occupation gone and the need for a sexual "breakwater" erased, criticism of the *pan pan* girls could no longer serve as a de facto criticism of SCAP. As a result, a new narrative emerged, and the story of *pan pan* girls in occupied Japan transitioned to one of American exploitation and victimization to elicit sympathy from Japanese readers. The most notable Japanese take on the subject comes in *The Chastity of Japan: Journals of Women Raped by Foreign Troops*, which the editor, Mizuno Hiroshi, constructed as

a collection of autobiographical testimonials by *pan pan* girls. Published in 1953, *Chastity* offers a detailed look at the various ways in which Japanese women became sexual victims at the hands of Occupation personnel. As Michael Molasky describes it: “*The Chastity of Japan* had all the making of a best seller...it contained sex, confessions, fallen women and foreign men...above all, the book claimed that everything described within its pages was true.”⁴¹ The book was a runaway best seller – seventeen editions were printed in its first year, and the title alone both tapped into and reinforced the fear that had underpinned the Recreation and Amusement Association: Japan was a pure land that had been soiled by the invasion of a foreign sexual aggression brought by the Occupation.

In the book, four *pan pan* girls present their stories under pseudonyms. Scholars tend to focus on the first chapter, “Facing Death, I Offer My Testament,” written by “Ono Toshiko,” because of its length and attention to detail. Supposedly written while she was dying from cancer, “Facing Death” fishes for sympathy from readers with unfettered sentimentality and a tragic tale of rape and suffering, but is long and meandering. Chapter two offers similar sentimentality in a more concise package and has been relatively unexplored by scholars. Entitled “To Whom Should I Protest?”, *pan pan* Kawabe Satoko’s story begins innocently. Satoko found work as a telephone operator on an Occupation base under a strict sergeant. Her superior, a lieutenant, however, treated her kindly and she began to trust him. After work, he asked her if she would like a ride in his jeep and she readily agreed. He drove to a wooded area and, after some small talk, he raped her. Upon returning to work, she was promptly fired, which she claimed was the first step to her life as a *pan pan*.⁴²

⁴¹ Michael S. Molasky, *The American Occupation of Japan and Okinawa: Literature and Memory*, (New York: Routledge, 2005) 115

⁴² Hiroshi Mizuno, *The Chastity of Japan: Journals of Women Raped by Foreign Troops*, (Tokyo: 1953), 146-151

She eventually found work at a different base in its mess hall where a long line of GIs took her as their girlfriend, while the GIs accused her of being a “butterfly,” meaning that she would flitter between many men at once to earn a living. Her story becomes increasingly outlandish as GIs move in and out of her room depending on their deployment orders but without input from her. She was even used as currency in a card game.⁴³ Eventually, one GI accused her of “butterflying” and giving him VD and demanded money to pay for a medical checkup. She ran away from her room out of fear and found employment as a waitress in a coffee shop. There, the customer base was mainly GIs who would pay to sleep with the waitresses, including Satoko. In an effort to make enough money to leave the business, she patrolled the streets to try to bring customers into the coffee shop. After several GIs failed to pay her for sex, she started demanding money up front and wrote how a GI refused and beat her within an inch of her life.⁴⁴

Satoko’s story is harrowing, and given the still-fresh wound of Japan’s wartime defeat her story must have rung true to Japanese readers. Given the nonstop sentimentality and increasingly violent victimization, other scholars began to have doubts of the veracity of the accounts. Michael Molasky finally confirmed from an interview with an editor working at Sōjusha, the book’s publishing house, in 1953 that the work was penned by a ghost writer under the name “Mizuno Hiroshi.” The [author] was apparently affiliated with the Japanese Communist Party (JCP), had been living in the base town of Yokosuka, and claimed to have been familiar with ‘the *pan pan* situation,’ which he wanted to expose as part of a broader indictment of American imperialism.⁴⁵

Molasky’s claim that *The Chastity of Japan* is fictional makes sense. The timing of publication is suspect. It was published the year after the San Francisco Peace Treaty went into

⁴³ Mizuno, *The Chastity of Japan*, 159

⁴⁴ Ibid., 159-169

⁴⁵ Molasky, *The American Occupation of Japan and Okinawa*, 123

effect and Japan had been “rehabilitated” from its prewar ills to rejoin the world as a sovereign, peaceful, democratic nation. With new freedoms bestowed upon the Japanese by a new constitution and polity, Japan had taken its first step out of the shadow of war toward a more promising future. For the author, *The Chastity of Japan* would serve as a strong vehicle to remind the Japanese of the how the Americans oversaw the Occupation of their nation promising peace, freedom, and democracy, but victimized the Japanese populace with violence, sexual aggression, and an overt disrespect for Japan and its people. The “confessions” in *The Chastity of Japan* would once again frame the United States as an enemy invading Japan’s shores to coercively bend Japan to America’s will. Conceivably, the author’s goal might even have been to lead readers to draw an ideological line between American aggression and the new government and constitution that America gave to Japan. Just as the innocent women in the book had fallen victim to sexual aggression, Japan’s political and cultural innocence been soiled by Occupation reforms. By stirring up anti-American, anti-democratic, anti-capitalist ideals, the JCP would stand ready to welcome new members to foment revolution. While Marxist revolution did not occur, it is clear that the popularity of the book struck a chord with the Japanese public and may indicate a shift in attitudes toward the *pan pan* girls regardless of the intent of the JCP in the book’s publication.

Regardless of the sentiments of the JCP, the return of sovereignty signaled to the world that the Allied Powers had declared the Occupation a success and that Japan was rehabilitated and ready to play nice with the civilized, democratic world. To meet that expectation, the Japanese government hoped to demonstrate to the world that it had truly embraced the democratic principles of the modern world. One way to communicate Japan’s rehabilitation was

to enact national legislature outlawing prostitution to rid itself of a long-standing tradition that continued to set Japan off from the rest of the “civilized” world.

The National Diet passed its Anti-Prostitution Law on May 24, 1956, but the law did not go into full effect until April of 1958. The timing served a dual-purpose for the Japanese legislature. First, it would allow Japanese authorities to arrest and prosecute *pan pan* girls directly for breaking the Anti-Prostitution Law rather than arresting them for petty crimes and then applying the VD Prevention Law. Second, that the Japanese Diet passed the law under its own power without the coercive yoke of the Occupation applying pressure allowed the new Japanese government a victory that eluded SCAP during the Occupation years. Japan had succeeded under its own power where the Allied Forces had failed.

The law itself was little more than lip service to the international community and continues to be the legal standard applied to prostitution today. It did, in fact, outlaw prostitution, stating, “No person may either do prostitution or become the customer of it.” However, the law defined prostitution as compensation for vaginal intercourse only between a woman and a person with whom the woman had no prior relationship. All other forms of sexual gratification including anal sex and oral sex were not considered “sex” under this law and not subject to arrest and prosecution under the Anti-Prostitution Law. It did, however, create a market for non-coital sex businesses to rise and ushered in a new era of the Japanese sex trade promising access to sexual gratification within the context of a legal prostitution ban.

The Anti-Prostitution Law allowed the newly sovereign Japan to make the best of both worlds. Japan could show the international community that it had taken steps to demonstrate Japan’s willingness to continue in the spirit of SCAP’s liberalization reforms toward a more democratic and moral society. It could also take measures under the law to prosecute and

eradicate the streetwalking prostitute problem that arose primarily due to SCAP's directive to outlaw Japan's licensed prostitution system. At the same time, Japan could satisfy domestic public sentiment in favor of more traditional, brothel style prostitution by maintaining the legality of sexual practices that were not strictly coital.

Chapter Three: Promoting Purity: Sex Education and Birth Control in Occupied Japan

The sexual environment accompanying the Allied Occupation was unlike anything the common Japanese citizen had experienced. The arrival of Douglas MacArthur and his personnel brought an end to the licensed, and generally accepted, prostitution system that kept extramarital sexuality out of the public eye. In its place came a flood of streetwalking prostitutes inhabiting clubs, bars, coffee shops, and restaurants catering, mostly, to Occupation personnel. While the Occupation employed careful oversight to remake Japan's political, economic, and military structures, areas where society and sexuality intersect appeared to be unregulated, even though, as we have seen, SCAP was, in fact, concerned with this question. Occupation policy allowed back-alley brothels to give way to *pan pan* girls dressed in western-styled clothing barking for customers on the streets. Average Japanese citizens, through their daily encounters with *pan pan* girls and their foreign customer base saw a public environment of illicit sexuality rising in conjunction with the coming of the Occupation but saw few signs that SCAP was taking measures to clean up the streets.

The reality of the situation, as we have seen, is much more complicated than SCAP turning a blind-eye to Japan's sexual problems. Both SCAP and Japan's legislative and law enforcement agencies instilled measures meant to curtail the rising prostitution issue, albeit for different reasons. The Japanese government acted out of fear that American sexual savagery would influence Japanese sexuality negatively though both the conspicuous sexual expression of Occupation personnel and the general culture of sexuality that rose during Japan's occupation. The government's solution, initially, was to refashion the wartime comfort women system and apply it domestically through the Recreation and Amusement Association, an extension of

Japan's longstanding licensed prostitution system. The imperial government hoped the R.A.A. would reduce the numbers of sex-related crimes perpetrated by the occupiers on Japanese women by supplying them with prostitutes as outlets for their sexual desires. SCAP's mission to democratize and liberalize the nation clashed with the forced servitude upheld by legal contracts between licensed brothel proprietors and prostitutes. Consequently, SCAP outlawed state-sponsored prostitution in January, 1946 via directive (SCAPIN) 642. As former R.A.A. prostitutes found they could leave the brothels and venture out on their own without repercussion, streetwalking prostitution as an institution increased dramatically. The proliferation of *pan pan* girls as a direct consequence of SCAP's measures to end the licensing system served as a public reminder that Japan was no longer autonomous and that all aspects of Japanese society were threatened by SCAP reforms.

Concerned over the perceived transformative potential those reforms would have on sexuality, Japanese activists and political actors would resist those changes in a number of ways. This chapter demonstrates how Japanese political and social actors responded to the public sexual environment perpetrated by SCAP through SCAPIN 642. By examining Japanese discourse surrounding the establishment of a nationwide sex education curriculum designed to prop up domestic notions of proper sexuality and SCAP discourse surrounding Japanese access to birth control, I show how the dual-power political structure fostered an environment in which SCAP feared criticism over too much interference on social issues while Japanese actors moved to undermine the perceived damage done to society by SCAPIN 642. As a result, SCAP remained relatively passive on issues surrounding sexuality after SCAPIN 642, which granted Japanese legislators, educators, and activists considerable power to mitigate the influence of

SCAP reform on sexuality despite working within a political system lorded over by an occupier with supreme power.

Prior to its surrender, the Japanese imperial government spent considerable effort to connect Japanese sexuality to the needs of the imperial state. Historian Sabine Frühstück argues that female sexuality was closely linked to the Meiji Era motto “good wife, wise mother (*ryōsai kenbo*)” as the determinant ideal of Japanese femininity.¹ The Japanese government pressured women to rear healthy children to serve the emperor in both civil and military service while simultaneously growing the empire one child at a time. Kathleen Uno, too, illustrates how the need for wartime conscripts fostered government movements to pressure Japanese women into the good wives, wise mothers mold, “The slogan “Give birth and multiply” (*Umeyo, fuyaseyo*) and the Precious Children Battalion (*Kodakara Butai*), comprised of women commended by the government for extraordinary fertility, encouraged childbearing for state needs.”²

Because it used measures of procreation and fertility to define ideal femininity, Japan’s prewar government proactively limited access to and education about birth control for adults. Birth control activist Ishimoto Shidzue³ spearheaded an effort in 1922 for American Margaret Sanger to visit Japan to teach Japanese women about birth control. Initially, the Japanese consul in San Francisco denied Sanger an entrance visa into Japan because Japan’s foreign ministry viewed the subject of birth control as falling under the category of “dangerous thoughts” since the intent was to limit reproduction, which would decrease the nation’s supply of imperial

¹ Sabine Frühstück, *Colonizing Sex: Sexology and Social Control in Modern Japan*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003), 75

² Kathleen S. Uno, “Death of ‘Good Wife, Wise Mother’?,” in *Postwar Japan as History*, Andrew Gordon, ed., (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993), 300

³ Later known as Katō Shidzue after a second marriage.

subjects. Sanger would eventually be granted entry with the promise that she not make public speeches about birth control.⁴

If the Japanese government feared birth control limited the potential to grow healthy subjects for the emperor, eliminating unhealthy subjects from the population through eugenics was a parallel concern. Eugenics as an applicable concept to Japan had gained steam since the Meiji Restoration in 1868 and was especially useful in couching criteria for proper Japaneseeness to notions of “pure blood.” As Jennifer Robertson argues, “purity referred metaphorically to a body – including the national body – free from symbolic pollution and disease-bearing pathogens as well as to genealogical orthodoxy.”⁵ This concept would be codified under the fascist state when the Imperial Diet passed the National Eugenics Law in 1940 allowing doctors to forcibly sterilize women with undesirable hereditary mental traits. Modeled after Nazi Germany’s sterilization law of 1933, the intent was to remove inferior genes from Japan’s racial stock with only the strongest, most desirable traits to be passed on to future generations. Coupled with the “Give birth and multiply” slogan, the Eugenics law would, in theory, maximize the number of able-bodied and able-minded Japanese soldiers serving the emperor and ensure them to be of the highest genetic quality.⁶

In the schools, “give birth and multiply” would manifest through pre-surrender sex education. The content of this instruction covered only puberty and menstruation to ensure that girls would understand both when the body was ready for pregnancy both internally and externally. Educators feared that more explicit references to sexual desire might encourage

⁴ Shidzue Ishimoto, *Facing Two Ways: The Story of My Life*, (New York: Farrar & Rinehart, 1935) 229-230

⁵ Jennifer Robertson, “Blood Talks: Eugenic Modernity and the Creation of New Japanese,” *History and Anthropology*, (Vol. 13, No. 3, 2002), 194

⁶ Elise K. Tipton, “Ishimoto Shizue: the Margaret Sanger of Japan,” *Women’s History Review*, (Vol. 6, No. 3, 1997), 350

promiscuity and sexual immorality.⁷ In contrast, classes taught that male sexuality was less connected to the nurturing figure of the happy child-rearing mother, but to the animalistic perversity of masculine sexual desire labeling it as “aggressive, destructive, and, above all, potentially uncontrollable.”⁸ Frühstück points to sex education advice from Minami Ryō, director of the First High School:

Minami urged teachers to point out to their male students that ‘happiness would entirely disappear from their lives’ should they ‘succumb to temptation.’ Again and again, teachers should plant the thought in their students’ heads that the ‘eruption of sexual desire’ was ‘as strong as a storm.’ In a storm, a boat might tip over. Likewise, if young men did not control their sexual desire, they would ‘sink like a boat in a storm.’⁹

Male sexual desire, then, was a strong urge to engage in hedonistic sex, yet proper instruction would emphasize that for their moral health Japanese boys must tame their sexuality.

Teaching the dangers of pursuing sexual pleasure as a harmful component of sexuality capable of turning good Japanese girls toward a life of hedonistic sex and indulging the animalistic urges of boys, required specialized education programs to keep girls focused on raising children and taming the sexual urges of boys. Frühstück shows that according to the Ministry of Education, few teachers were appropriate for the task of teaching sexual education, as “only mature teachers who possessed adequate teaching experience, had a solid sense of morals, were themselves entirely ‘free of sexual desires,’ and were to speak ‘scientifically’ about the sex drive were declared adequate.”¹⁰ Proper instruction would make it clear that, for girls, the sex act was for the purpose of child bearing and, by extension, serving the nation. As a result, no real discussion of sexuality was needed beyond simple mechanics. For boys, sex was a potential act of immoral temptation that served to weaken the male body, possibly even through

⁷ Frühstück, *Colonizing Sex*, 69

⁸ Ibid., 70

⁹ Ibid., 70-71

¹⁰ Ibid., 71

contraction of venereal disease if desire was permitted to lead to promiscuity. Therefore, school curricula emphasized objectivity, science, and scrubbing desire from the sex act. Taming male sexuality and utilizing female reproduction to rear strong, healthy subjects of the emperor, then, were closely tied to the strength of the nation.

If we place the emergence of legal streetwalking prostitution within the context of presurrender concepts of “proper” sexuality as articulated in the sex education curriculum – that is, inconspicuous, modest, and focused on reproduction rather than pleasure – the potential threat that SCAP posed to the survival of Japanese sexual norms becomes clear. SCAP, by outlawing licensed prostitution, for right or for wrong, enabled female sexuality to be publicly expressed as being not for childbearing or nation-building but for other purposes such as pleasure or money making. Male sexuality, at least foreign male sexuality, far from being tamed to repress the destructive and animalist nature of it, came to be unabashedly expressed by foreign occupiers through interactions with *pan pan* girls that fell very openly under the public gaze. Government officials, teachers, and parents looked to education to serve as the vehicle to undermine what they saw as SCAP’s perversion of Japanese morals and American influence on the sexuality of Japan’s youth.

Author Sonia Ryang argues that reforms installed by the Occupation effectively removed emotional love as a component of the sex act by creating conditions in which hedonistic sexual appetites could be indulged in the open with *pan pan* girls. According to Ryang, GIs serving as the main customer base communicated American attitudes toward sex to occupied Japan as SCAP reforms made prostitution more easily accessible to Japanese men as *pan pan* girls offered their services to Japanese men as well as the more visible Occupation personnel. The result was an American-led split between sex as an expression of love towards one’s spouse and indulgence

of animalistic desire with prostitutes.¹¹ Ryang's argument overlooks the existence of brothels prior to the Occupation under Japan's licensed prostitution system that served as a means for Japanese men to indulge in sexual pleasure void of emotional love. If anything, the commodification of sex simply became more public. Nevertheless, making sex conspicuous created the perception among Japanese, politicians, and the general populace alike, that Occupation reform would spread American disregard for Japanese views on sex to every facet of society. To combat that, Japan's Ministry of Education would explore ways in which education could serve as the vehicle to undermine American influence on Japanese sexuality.

Education Reform under the Occupation

One of the key reforms SCAP would implement was the overhaul of Japan's education system. Prior to surrender, education was the principal propagandistic conduit for indoctrinating youth in the imperial agenda. SCAP looked to liberalize, demilitarize, and secularize the curriculum by expanding compulsory attendance ages for both sexes and completely removing State Shinto, which sought to legitimize the emperor's claim to divinity, from the classroom. Japanese education since the Meiji Era reforms, had been guided by 1890's Imperial Rescript on Education, which outlined both the role of students in modern Japan as well as the blueprint upon which Japan's fascism would be born by placing the empire at the center of individual conduct and collective thought:

Ye, Our subjects, be filial to your parents, affectionate to your brothers and sisters; as husbands and wives be harmonious, as friends true; bear yourselves in modesty and moderation; extend your benevolence to all; pursue learning and cultivate arts, and thereby develop intellectual faculties and perfect moral powers; furthermore advance public good and promote common interests; always respect the Constitution and observe

¹¹ Sonia Ryang, *Love in Modern Japan: Its Estrangement from Self, Sex, and Society*, (Routledge: Milton Park, 2006), 67

the laws; should emergency arise, offer yourselves courageously to the State; and thus guard and maintain the prosperity of Our Imperial Throne coeval with heaven and earth.¹²

Of particular concern to SCAP was the constant reinforcement through school curricula that the emperor was a living deity and that proper subjects would defend him with their lives. Schools required students to memorize and recite the entire text and expected them to adhere to it in their studies and daily conduct. By 1945, after 55 years of indoctrination through the Imperial Rescript, SCAP faced a nation of citizens raised in an environment that attempted to define their sense of identity through service to and sacrifice for the emperor and, therefore, could pose an immediate threat to Occupation personnel as well as the general goals of the Occupation moving forward.

U.S. military officials began discussing possible avenues for education reform in occupied Japan as early as March 1943, just over one year after the Pearl Harbor attack. Lt. Commander Charles Nelson Spinks of the Office of Naval Intelligence voiced concern via memo that a heavy-handed coercive approach would ultimately fail without buy-in from the Japanese to help oversee the implementation, and legitimization, of the reform program.¹³ Spinks' fears would be echoed in 1944 by Frances A. Gulick of the U.S. State Department's Postwar Programmes Committee (PWC) who advocated for secularization of Japanese textbooks, but cautioned that it should not be done in a visibly coercive way. She wrote, "There should be no suggestion that the army, or any other American authority, prepare new textbooks at this time or at a later date. They would arouse antagonism in the minds of the teachers and students."¹⁴ Gulick argued that care should be taken to remove reverence for the emperor and state Shinto

¹² Theodore de Bary, ed., "Imperial Rescript on Education," *Sources of Japanese Tradition, Second Edition, Volume 2*, (New York: Columbia University Press, 2005), 779-780

¹³ Marlene J. Mayo, "Psychological Disarmament: American Wartime Planning for the Education and Re-education of Defeated Japan, 1943-1945," in Burkman, Thomas W., ed., *The Occupation of Japan Educational and Social Reform*, (Norfolk: Gatling, 1982) p. 31

¹⁴ Mayo, "Psychological Disarmament," 41-42

from the texts, but that it should be Japan's Ministry of Education that did it with oversight from SCAP.

In fact, the Ministry of Education would indeed promote SCAP's vision of freedom and democracy to the masses. John Dower describes how the ideological transformation of the Ministry of Education was unexpectedly swift in its move from supporting the imperial house and promoting wartime militarism toward fostering a gentler, peace-loving Japan that would embrace democracy over imperial institutions.¹⁵ Textbooks posed an immediate concern as paper was scarce and wartime texts contained content designed to support Japan's imperial polity. A plan for SCAP civil affairs officers to "razor out" all references to the emperor in textbooks outraged Frances Gulick who would later comment, "they were out of their minds...that would draw attention to the emperor."¹⁶ Rather than clipping the offending passages, however, each Japanese child did black out references SCAP determined to be dangerous in the wartime textbooks. It was a confusing and lasting moment in the lives of the pupils. One student recalls, "I felt as if I were defiling myself...that day for the first time, I felt besieged by a jumble of contending values, a feeling that has persisted ever since."¹⁷ Dower argues that though this strategy served the purpose of making pro-fascist information inaccessible to the students, it was also a stark reminder to the Japanese children that their nation had lost the war and was occupied by a higher authority that could force them to deface the same textbooks that only months prior served as national canon. For teachers and students, that one act brought the new power dynamics in occupied Japan into clear focus.¹⁸

¹⁵ John Dower, *Embracing Defeat: Japan in the Wake of World War II*, (Norton: New York, 1999), 247

¹⁶ Mayo, "Psychological Disarmament," 42

¹⁷ Eiji Takemae, *The Allied Occupation of Japan*, (Continuum: New York, 2002), 362

¹⁸ Dower, *Embracing Defeat*, 247

Under the occupation authority, Japan's education reforms were swift. By April 1947, a new Fundamental Law of Education that focused on the importance of the individual and free thought had replaced the Imperial Rescript on Education. It extended compulsory education requirements from six to nine years and made sex-segregated schools coeducational. It removed undue control over administration and curricula from the national government and put oversight of content into the hands of the general public. Finally, it forbade both political activity and religious education from public schooling.¹⁹ The Fundamental Law was designed to support the new Constitution of Japan, which would go into effect in May 1947 of that same year. The new Constitution of Japan had comparatively little to say on education itself, but did forbid religious instruction in schools (Article 20), guaranteeing the right to equal education (Article 26), and removing barriers based on educational backgrounds for elected public servants (Article 44).²⁰ The rest of education reform was governed by the Fundamental Law of Education and would be up to Japan's Ministry of Education to implement and maintain in alignment with constitutional ideals.

Despite much discussion on education reform in general, the record is silent on the Allies' plans to reform sex education specifically prior to surrender, though Frühstück's treatment of prewar sexuality highlights where education and sexuality overlap within SCAP reform plans. With pre-surrender male sexuality closely associated with defending the emperor and the nation and female sexuality linked to producing and rearing loyal imperial subjects, sex education should fall under the blanket demilitarization and liberalization policies painted across all of Japan's education system. SCAP censors focused simply on removing connections to the

¹⁹ Theodore de Bary, "The Fundamental Law of Education," *Sources of Japanese Tradition, Second Edition, Volume 2*, (New York: Columbia University Press, 2005), 1040-1041

²⁰ Theodore de Bary, ed., "The New Constitution," *Sources of Japanese Tradition, Second Edition, Volume 2*, (New York: Columbia University Press, 2005), 1031-1036

emperor regardless of the subject matter and, in doing so, left open the question of how Japanese educators should approach those subjects once the imperial or militaristic components were removed.

The emperor and his relationship to subjecthood saturated the education system. Each subject presented opportunities to reinforce children's understanding of subjecthood under the emperor. Japan's moral education classes, in particular, focused more directly on educating students on the definition of and how to be a good and loyal subject for the deity emperor, including sex education as a component of moral education. As a result, SCAP issued a directive to the Japanese government on December 31, 1945 ordering the suspension of all "moral education" classes and the discontinuation of all textbooks and other teaching materials associated with moral education curricula.²¹ As part of SCAP's mission to expunge emperor-centered militarism from all aspects of Japan's polity, the suspension of moral education separated the education of Japan's youth from a key wartime fascist mouthpiece. Moreover, coming soon after the Occupation began, the timing served as a public indication that SCAP would not refrain from heavy-handed measures to display its authority over reform issues that fell within the boundaries of its prime directives for the Occupation. With moral education forbidden, it would be up to Japan's government to decide how best to replace that class content with a curriculum more in-line with Occupation ideals.

SAVING JAPAN'S PURITY

For the Ministry of Education, the end of emperor-centered moral education left an uncomfortable gap between the role of education in shaping future Japanese youths and the

²¹ (2) *GHQ Directives concerning Supervisory Policies and Educational Administration*, Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology Japan, http://www.mext.go.jp/b_menu/hakusho/html/others/detail/1317417.htm

hedonistic sexual environment that Japan had faced since the abolition of licensed prostitution in January 1946. In response, the Ministry spearheaded a new committee in June 1947, shortly after the promulgation of the new Constitution, which would establish guiding principles for youth that, all in all, reintroduced many of the sex education components of wartime moral education. Headed by OBGYN Andō Kikuichi, the group called itself the “Committee for Purity Education,” and by August 1948 it had compiled and sent to SCAP for review an early set of charter guidelines for educating and rearing Japanese children in what they deemed to be a proper and moral way, especially with regard to sexuality. The opening to the white paper is telling: “The corruption of morals of both sexes, the delinquency of the youth and juvenile, and the spread of VD are important social problems of today. Gradually they will become the racial problems of the Japanese people.” It would go on to implicate prostitution and its rise along with the Occupation, bemoaning the “increase in youth delinquency and prostitution” linking it to Japan’s “thorough defeat at war.”²² The committee linked the need for purity education to the general sexual environment in occupied Japan and, more specifically, made clear that purity education was a reaction to prostitution as the source of rising rates of venereal disease. Japan’s youth were being exposed in public to the buying and selling of sex on the streets as a result of SCAP’s abolition of licensed brothels and, without the moral guidance of the fascist education system, the morality of youth would be skewed in ways that threatened the survival of the Japanese race, or at least the Committee’s understanding of it.

By 1949, the Committee would solidify its principles and submit to the Ministry of Education a manual outlining both the need for Purity Education and general guidelines on how and where it should be integrated in the schools. In particular, previous implications of

²² “General Principles of Purity Education (Purity Education Committee),” Materials on the Allied Occupation of Japan – Japanese Diet Library, (Box 5744, Folder 3, 1948), 1

prostitution as a threat to the moral values of Japanese youth and its connection to the Occupation are stated more explicitly:

After defeat in the war, moral corruption in society becomes prevalent. In particular, there is deterioration in morality between the sexes and an inevitable increase in youth delinquency and prostitution. Our country today cannot avoid this. Furthermore, due to the confusion caused by the thorough defeat at war...moral ignorance and distrust are intensifying. Such a social environment will poison the next generation...and lead to national disintegration. Today, the need for *junketsukyōiku* [purity education] is becoming ever so urgent.²³

The committee's mention of the "racial problem" was a thinly veiled allusion to the presence of SCAP personnel in Japan and their public fraternization with Japanese prostitutes. As the source of the prostitution problem, the abolition of the Imperial Rescript on Education, and removal of the guidance found in moral education classes, SCAP created a system that left Japanese children to decide their own sexual ideals without a fundamental moral structure to guide them toward what the government believed to be healthy moral choices. The "racial problem" also implies negative attitudes toward Japanese and non-Japanese fraternization, which had the potential to produce often bastardized offspring of the foreign occupiers with Japanese prostitutes. Considering that the Eugenics Law had been passed only eight years prior, prewar concepts of racial purity and homogeneity permeated the committee's stance. By outlining the perceived social ill against which it was reacting, the committee was clear that its purpose would serve the dual and connected purpose of promoting a distinctly Japanese sexual morality and maintaining a homogenous Japanese race.

The document used general terms to describe notions of what was proper or right leave room for the Committee to define those terms in ways that suited them, but making it clear that Japanese society under occupation was sexually immoral.

²³ *Fundamentals of Purity Education (junketsukyōiku kihonyōkō)*, Monbushō junketsukyōiku iinkai, (Tokyo: Insatsukyōku, 1949), as quoted in Sonia Ryang, 68

Purity education should not be limited to only sex education, but it should be promoted, aiming at the objectives listed below and be incorporated into civic education, science education, art, and culture education and moral education –

(a) To purify the society and establish a sound morality of both sexes.

(b) To popularize the right idea of sex education and uplift sex morality.

(c) To establish sound cultural environment by promoting art and sports.²⁴

Implicit in these goals was the idea that purity education would help bolster the resolve of society by educating Japan's children to combat these social ills in the name of defending the nation against American influence on Japan's sexuality.

Without many concrete examples cited by the Committee, it is difficult to discern exactly what perceived impurities the education plan hoped to scrub, other than that they were connected to the exposure of children to conspicuous sexuality and the correlation of this problem with the start of the Occupation. It was not until Japan regained its sovereignty that the record reflects the pervasiveness with which Japanese children under the Occupation witnessed conspicuous fraternization between *pan pan* girls and Occupation personnel. In 1953, *Kōbunsha* published *Child of the Base (Kichi no Ko)*, a collection of essays and poems written by elementary and junior high-aged school children describing their memories of life under the Occupation and interactions with foreign soldiers in their own words. Some reminisced fondly that American soldiers treated them kindly and shared chewing gum with the children, a luxury many could not afford. Overwhelmingly, however, children wrote about encounters between soldiers and *pan pan* girls they had witnessed. A seven-year-old first grade child recounts:

A soldier gave me 100 yen²⁵ so I went to see a movie with Osamu. Then, the next day, I received another 120 yen, so I went out to play. Afterward, I met my mother who gave me another 20 yen, so I bought some candy.²⁶

²⁴ General Principles of Purity Education, 1

²⁵ An editor notes that the child's mother most likely was a *pan pan* girl and the soldier gave money to the child to ensure privacy.

²⁶ Ikutaro Shimizu, Seiichi Miyahara, Shosaburo Ueda, eds., *Kichi no Ko*, (Tokyo: Kōbunsha, 1953), 57

Other encounters offered more elaborate details, using simple descriptive language. Two different seven-year-old girls, for example, write fairly explicit accounts of events they witnessed:

The *pan pan* girl and the soldier were a couple. He kissed her. They danced together. The *pan pan* girl removed her clothes and they danced together...The soldier drank alcohol and got drunk. The *pan pan* girl danced in her underwear.²⁷

The American soldier and the *pan pan* girl kissed. After that, they went in her house and she showed him her private parts. Then, the *pan pan* girl licked the American's private parts.²⁸

It is unclear from these short essays from what vantage point the children could witness these events, so it remains possible that the retelling is a piecemeal account of information that the each child had overheard. The explicit descriptions, however, do at least point to children coming in contact with secondary accounts of fraternization if not actually witnessing it themselves, and that those accounts left impressions that lived beyond the end of the Occupation.

In his essay examining the effects of interactions between Occupation soldiers and *pan pan* girls as observed by the Japanese public, Masakazu Tanaka argues that another publication, *Military Base Japan (Kichi Nippon)*, offers more insight into the kind of fear that drove the Committee for Purity Education to attempt to limit the influence of immoral sexuality on Japan's children. He writes:

Children generally viewed the *pan pan* girls in a negative light, complaining about their noisiness at night, their vulgar language and how embarrassing it was to see them embracing their clients in public. Because of the deluge of brothels, children increasingly had the opportunity to actually witness intercourse or come into contact with used condoms. Some even started using indecent slang or mimicking the vulgarities the *pan pan* girls and American soldiers performed (playing *pan pan*), to the mortification of their teachers and parents.²⁹

²⁷ *Kichi no Ko*, 155

²⁸ *Ibid.*, 156

²⁹ Masakazu Tanaka, "The Sexual Contact Zone in Occupied Japan: Discourses on Japanese Prostitutes or *Pan pan* for U.S. Military Servicemen," *Intersections: Gender and Sexuality in Asia and the Pacific*, Issue 31, December 2012, <http://intersections.anu.edu.au/issue31/tanaka.htm>

The conspicuous sexuality displayed by *pan pan* girls and their customers inspired revulsion in some children, especially those in towns near Occupation bases where *pan pan* girls were concentrated, but also served as a model of behavior for children who took to mimicry during play. One seven-year-old girl in *Child of the Base* describes her admiration for the *pan pan* girls, pointing to their “pretty clothes” and their “pretty faces” with “pretty lipstick.”³⁰ The influence of *pan pan* girl fashion and their interactions with customers on children’s behaviors fueled educators’ fears that Occupation reforms of prostitution and education would fundamentally change sexuality in Japan. These fears, embodied by Japanese children “playing *pan pan*,” underpinned the principles of purity education as a means to combat the unfavorable behaviors modeled by the *pan pan* girls and their customers.

Sonia Ryang argues that the objective of purity education was twofold. First, it would take careful aim at Japanese school-aged girls (as opposed to boys) who needed the proper instruction in order to maintain a healthy understanding of sexuality and, by extension, help maintain a healthy postwar society. Second, the Ministry of Education targeted young Japanese girls in school to emphasize their potential to society through the maintenance of their purity, as opposed to the impurities present in prostitutes girls might see on the streets.³¹ Especially important is the prevention of venereal disease as it “brings a disaster not only to an individual but also to the society. It will darken the society and make it unhealthy. Furthermore, it will bring about the fall of the race. Keeping these points in mind, scientific knowledge of VD should be popularized.”³² Purity education, and by extension sex education, offered nothing less than

³⁰ Shimizu, Miyahara, Ueda, *Kichi no Ko*, 157

³¹ Ryang, *Love in Modern Japan*, 67

³² *General Principles of Purity Education*, 4

saving the Japanese race from falling prey to venereal disease brought on by an under-informed and amorous population.

Ryang's assertion that purity education seems centered on Japanese girls in particular rings true in that it looked to draw a line between unfavorable streetwalking prostitutes and upstanding non-prostitutes in occupied Japan. However, the committee was careful to point out the importance of sexual education for both sexes and even argues for healthy co-educational activities, such as sports, cultural events, and arts, as means to replace sexual temptation with activities that promoted the purity of Japan's character.³³

Co-education is a good way to respect and understand individuality of each other, and to keep right intercourse, but under all circumstances it needs politeness and order. Especially should this be done in the transition period – just like today, and educators and parents should always give careful, kind, considerate treatment to young people so that they may be not left alone.³⁴

The sexual urges of growing youth posed equal opportunity for experimentation and exploration of their sexuality, thus the committee suggested that both sexes be encouraged to interact, but only under supervision so as not to leave room for impure thoughts to morph into impure conduct. To the Committee, both sexes were capable of uncontrollable sexual urges, especially during adolescence, marking at least some departure from wartime gender views that only acknowledged men as having animalistic sexual desire.

It should be noted, however, that the committee's founding documents stop short of calling for the abolition of prostitution, which would seem to suggest some tolerance, if not tacit approval, of prostitution as a social need for men to indulge their sexual appetites.³⁵ Purity education would work around the institution to dissuade future generations from frequenting

³³ *General Principles of Purity Education*, 4

³⁴ *Ibid.*, 4

³⁵ This view parallels the results of public opinion surveys surrounding the potential legal ban of prostitution discussed in chapter two.

brothels, but it would not denounce them outright, creating a certain tension between promoting the committee's version of morality while failing to call for the prohibition for a practice that threatened that morality. In addition, the urgency behind the formation of the committee and the finalization of its goals correlates to SCAP's abolition of licensed prostitution and the increase in *pan pan* girls putting sexuality on public display. Licensed, back alley brothels were out of the public gaze and, thus, posed little threat to public morality, especially to children. Consequently, purity education sought to pair concepts of proper sexuality with the preexisting institutions of the occupied nation and impure or bad sexuality as having crept in along with the occupying force.

The committee documents offer no real discussion on the logistics of how purity education should be implemented or, indeed, who would lead its instruction. Its principles call for integration of purity education into a number of educational courses, including civics classes, science classes, cultural classes, and recognized the need for a strong moral example for children in the home through the instruction of and interaction between parents and siblings. Certainly, dictating moral guidance in the home fell outside the boundaries of the Committee on Purity Education's authority, but with proper education of youth under the Occupation, those youth would be exposed to, internalize, and apply purity education's principles when they had children of their own, thus setting the example for a sexually moral home life that would be reaffirmed by schooling for future generations. These expectations were idealistic, to be sure, and difficult to see through to fruition without providing educational standards and standards for qualifications of teachers incorporating purity education into their curricula. Instead, the committee offered vague suggestions for educators: "Purity education should be started pyramidically from the subjects which are closely related to purity education, such as social study, live-stock breeding,

biology, physiology, physical education, and domestic science, and then should go up for the final aim.”³⁶ This increasingly complex approach toward “the final aim” (presumably scientific sex education centered on human anatomy and development) assumes that rather than a particular course in purity education or sex education, the Committee on Purity Education looked to instill an overarching ideology into school curricula that permeated throughout classes to expose and reaffirm purity education’s ideals as children progressed in their studies.

The Occupation’s response to the purity education documents was one of ambivalence. On the one hand, SCAP personnel saw little value in the documents, with one note calling them “potentially worthless,” but also admitting that they posed little harm, since they did not exalt the emperor or criticize the Occupation overtly.³⁷ It is clear, however, that the Committee saw Japan’s immoral sexual environment as a correlation to the presence of SCAP and its soldiers. The *pan pan* girls’ association with Occupation personnel provided an easy vehicle upon which to place frustration with the Occupation as a whole. Criticism of the perceived immorality posed by *pan pan* girls equated to criticism of the Occupation, albeit in a less direct way. Conceivably, SCAP found no potential harm in the Committee’s documents because commanders viewed *pan pan* girls as a health and moral threat to SCAP’s mission. The Committee on Purity Education and SCAP shared a common threat, although they interpreted the threat somewhat differently, but without concrete direction from the Committee on the logistics of its proposed curriculum, SCAP would offer neither assistance nor resistance.

In forming the Committee, however, Japan’s Ministry of Education clearly saw a need for Purity Education, but, as one Japanese publication argues, given the lack of detailed direction from the Committee itself and the lack of budgetary resources to throw at further development,

³⁶ Sonia Ryang, *Love in Modern Japan*, 3

³⁷ Comments on “General Principles of Purity Education” document, Materials on the Allied Occupation of Japan – Japanese Diet Library, (Box 5744, Folder 3, 1948)

the initiative seemed doomed.³⁸ Still, the Ministry responded favorably through its Social Education branch to the work of the Committee by releasing its own white paper entitled “Purity Education Program for 1948” that claimed the Ministry of Education was considering a number of avenues “in order to achieve the objective of purity of education by incorporating the purity education program with other programs.” The approach would be to implement short courses on purity education at national level education oriented conferences to demonstrate methods for incorporating purity education into the classroom. In particular, the Social Education plan called for “three or five hours...to be allotted for the discussion...of purity education” at the Conference for Civic Education Leaders, Conference Youth Organization leaders, and the Conference for Workers’ Education.³⁹

Another problem was the Committee’s failure to provide guidance on who was suitable for teaching sex education and how those teachers would be trained to present it. Once the Ministry of Education announced its support for the Committee’s views, sex education quickly became a topic for discussion in the public discourse discussed among a number of groups from teachers and politicians to social groups like Parent Teacher Associations, and into the publicly consumed magazines like *Fūjin Kouron* and other popular serials. The *Mainichi Shinbun* syndicated newspaper published an article on December 19, 1948 focusing on the problems with teaching sex education in Japan in which Purity Education Committee member (also Chief of the Facilities Section of the Social Education Branch in the Ministry of Education) Yamamuro Tamiko states:

Sex education must first begin with the personality education of the person who teaches it. There are very few people among the adults who can give proper sex education to the

³⁸ *Senryō to Sei, Keisen Jogakuen Daigaku, Heiwa Bunka Kenkyūsho*, eds., (Tokyo: Event Publishing, 2007), 196

³⁹ *Shōwa Nijūsan-nen Jyūketsu Kyōiku no Shinkō ni Kansuru Keikakuan*, Materials on the Allied Occupation of Japan – Japanese Diet Library, (Box 5744, Folder 3, 1948), 1

parents and teachers naturally become negative and are not gaining many results. Sex education should be carried out by an experienced educator and one who is respected.⁴⁰

Yamamuro's statement parallels the attitude toward sex education before the war described by Frühstück in that she suggests that teaching about sex should be done by older, experienced educators with a disposition suited to treating the subject with serious and objective care. The Council on Purity Education offered a principled and idealistic call for stronger sex education in Japan's schools, but seemed to understand that teachers trained in sex education pedagogy were rare, and rather than suggesting training methods for teachers expected to teach sex education, members focused on outlining what a good teacher should be, leaving it up to individual schools to decide the suitability of its teachers to teach the subject.

Yamamuro expressed concern that education methods offering overly frank access to information might be damaging to children, suggesting that adolescent children might have a "nervous breakdown" if shown the specifics of venereal disease. Instead, she argued that "sex should be taught as something beautiful and important, but the ascetic ways should not be taught."⁴¹ Yamamuro's comments are slightly opaque as to what she meant by "ascetic," but presumably she was advocating teaching the importance and utility of the sex act, while not explicitly providing instruction on the logistics of the act of coitus out of fear that excessively frank instruction on how to have sex would encourage indulgence in youth rather than instill a sense of moral responsibility.

Even outside of the committee, there appears to have been a consensus that Japan lacked the kind of personnel with specialized knowledge suitable for teaching sex education. The January 1949 issue of *P.T.A. Japan (Nihon PTA)* published a roundtable discussion article with

⁴⁰ "Sex Education of Elementary School Children," *Mainichi Shinbun*, December 19, 1948, Materials on the Allied Occupation of Japan – Japanese Diet Library, (Box 5247, Folder 29), 1

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 2

P.T.A. members titled “Sex Education and the P.T.A.” The intent of the article was to gather a number of educated opinions on sex education in Japan and how the Parent Teacher Association might help its readers (predominantly housewives) understand the state of sex education and what it meant for children and parents. In it, Kaneko Hisako of the Tokyo P.T.A. stated that more and more questions from students in schools surrounded sex, indicating rising interest and exposure to sex for Tokyo youth. Kaneko stated, however, that teachers were too embarrassed to answer the question.⁴² Takada Naoko of the Japanese Women’s Union voiced her concern that in postwar Japan so many female teachers in schools were young and lacked the adequate training to teach sex education with the same frank attitude that a mother might. As an example, she claimed that she witnessed Japanese boys becoming more outspoken and “adventurous” in their questions, including asking the teacher if she had ever masturbated. When confronted by such explicitness, the teacher would get embarrassed and change topics, which would only increase the students’ curiosity and bring more attention to sex as a secret to be discovered by students.⁴³ The anecdotes shared in the P.T.A. materials seem to advocate for sex education to be conducted in the home where parents and children were comfortable with each other and, in theory, could speak openly, rather than in classrooms under the control of inexperienced and uncomfortable teachers, though the plan presumed that parents both had access to correct knowledge about sex themselves and could present it to their children in a serious and practical manner.

If Japan’s teaching force was inadequately prepared to teach sex education in early 1949, it was equally unprepared at the end of the Occupation. The September 1952 issue of *Amatoria*, a widely read Japanese magazine focusing on “sex enlightenment” in Japan, published a roundtable discussion with a number of (all male) politicians on sex education. Takahashi Tetsu

⁴² “*Seikyouiku to P.T.A.*,” *Nihon P.T.A.*, (Tokyo: Nihon Bousei Bunka Kyokai, Vol. 2, Issue 2, 1949), 12-13

⁴³ *Ibid.*, 13

expressed his frustration with the current system stating, frankly, that “Sex education teachers do not understand about sex” and that it was a large problem that would be “dangerous” if the Japanese government did not consider measures to reverse the trend.⁴⁴ Like the PTA documents, the politicians interviewed by *Amatoria* seem to agree that sex education was necessary given Japan’s sexual climate, but they had no logistical plan to implement it effectively.

“BIRTH” CONTROLLING THE POPULATION PROBLEM

Despite SCAP’s stated stance of neutrality when it came to Japanese sex education for Japan’s youth, behind the scenes it strongly supported measures designed to improve access to educational materials on birth control for Japanese adults as a means to help the problems of overpopulation facing Japan. At the time of surrender, Japan had roughly three-million troops and another three-million Japanese nationals living in colonial possessions whose repatriation after the war would put severe strain on a nation that saw its cities devastated by war and overrun by poverty. By the end of 1948, Japan’s population had risen from roughly 72 million at the time of surrender in 1945 to 80 million people through a combination of overseas repatriation and a boom in annual live births from 1.9 million in 1945 to 2.7 million in 1948.⁴⁵

A rising population during a time when both economy and infrastructure had been decimated by the war naturally posed several problems for SCAP. First, food that was heavily rationed for imperial soldiers during the war had loosened up for public consumption, but with the amount of arable land stretched to capacity, static food production strained mightily against the rising number of mouths to feed. Secondly, with urban centers still clearing and rebuilding from extreme war destruction, the lack of proper housing and access to basic sanitation put

⁴⁴ *Amatoria: The Key to Sex Enlightenment*, (Tokyo: Amatoria-sha, September Issue. 1952), 165

⁴⁵ “Population by Sex, Population Increase and Decrease, Population Density (1872-2009),” *Ministry of Internal Affairs and Communications, Statistics Bureau*, <http://www.stat.go.jp/data/chouki/zuhyou/02-01.xls>

pressure on overall public health. Third, with economic stagnation worsened by a burgeoning population, SCAP feared some swell in the numbers of Japanese women looking to become *pan pan* girls to make ends meet, increasing the VD threat to the occupying population.

Some Japanese officials argued that one way to combat overpopulation was to educate the Japanese people on birth control measures. In Japan, the most vocal proponent of increased access to birth control was Katō Shidzue, one of the first women to be elected to Japan's legislative Diet in 1946 whose efforts in both prewar and postwar eras to provide access to birth control for women landed her the nickname "the Margaret Sanger of Japan." Katō attended a meeting in 1948 with other Japanese activists and SCAP officials from the Public Health and Welfare and Central Command Divisions along with representatives from the Rockefeller Foundation visiting Japan to gather data on human welfare in the occupied nation. With overpopulation a major concern for Japanese welfare, the Rockefeller delegation seemed very interested in gauging the interest of the Japanese population toward birth control and SCAP was interested in gauging the positives and negatives of intervening on the issue.

At the meeting, there was general agreement by the Japanese participants that while there was some interest in birth control among Japanese women, propaganda from before and during the war continued to influence many decisions on family planning. Essentially, wartime expansion of the family equated to expansion of the empire through increased strength of the Japanese populace. Limiting the population by any means, then, was to limit the strength of the Japanese people and, by extension, the emperor. At the meeting, Dr. Majima Kan, a member of the Japan Birth Control League, pointed to his 1930 published report claiming that movements toward educating the populace on birth control led some Japanese citizens to question whether the movement was grassroots or, in actuality, a U.S. effort to weaken the Japanese population to

make the nation easier to conquer in the event of war between the two nations. He argued that similar movements designed to expand access to birth control, especially under a directive by SCAP, would have similar consequences.⁴⁶

Despite the remnants of Japan's fascist ideology, the Japanese in the meeting reported that, overall, the interest in birth control had been growing since the end of the war. Katō, in particular, argued that rural families were especially receptive to the idea that limiting the number of family members was economically sensible:

[Before surrender] upon reaching a certain age, children were sent to the cities to work in factories and the parents got a sum of money, which was badly needed, for this. Having a family was a good investment, and it did no good to talk to these people [about birth control]. The money spoke louder. At present, the education system has been reformed and there is a compulsory education law which keeps children in school longer; also the family no longer received money from employers in exchange for the labor of children. So, under the recent post-war changes the rural population is not finding child-bearing the good investment it used to be.⁴⁷

While, in Katō's view, an increasing number of Japanese held interest in birth control, a bigger problem lay in undereducated doctors who failed to pass along accurate and up-to-date birth control. Because they were educated during the prewar and wartime eras, Japanese doctors' formal training encouraged expansion of the family for the benefit of the empire as opposed to limiting the population to maximize resource distribution. Dr. Kan bemoaned the lack of training and educational materials for doctors' reference and suggested that American-produced films on birth control be made available for Japanese use to save on costs and production time for Japanese-made materials. However, Dr. Frank Notestein of the Rockefeller Foundation advised against SCAP furnishing the materials for Japanese consumption, arguing that "the U.S. may be

⁴⁶ "Meeting on Population Problems," Minutes, September 14, 1948, Materials on the Allied Occupation of Japan – Japanese Diet Library, (Box 5247, Folder 29), 2

⁴⁷ Ibid., 3

criticized for propagandizing another country in this regard. You can see how it would be if one country attempts to reduce the population of another.”⁴⁸

SCAP’s unwillingness to act on behalf of Japan on the birth control issue, however, may have sent a message to the Japanese Government that population control was not a pressing concern in Japan, at least from SCAP’s point of view. Dr. Amano Nageyasu, who was present at the Rockefeller meeting, argued that many of Japan’s Diet members expected directives from SCAP to act on widening access to birth control, otherwise they would not find it a pressing matter. He pointed out that in other areas SCAP showed interest in raising the standards of public health, such as fighting typhus and tuberculosis, but that when it came to balancing resources and population, SCAP’s inaction would hurt human welfare in the long run.⁴⁹ Amano’s criticism is slightly out of place as taking measures to limit the spread of TB or typhus, for example, offered immediate public health assistance to Occupation personnel and Japanese alike and few, presumably, would disagree with education and treatment programs to curb their spread. With overpopulation, however, SCAP found itself in a difficult situation. First, though certainly holding the power to direct the Japanese government to attempt to curb the population boom through wider education and access to birth control, SCAP would be hesitant to do so as, unlike TB or typhus, overpopulation was not a disease, but rather an issue connected to the longevity of the Japanese nation. Secondly, heavy-handed interference with birth control and population issues would offer ammunition to those Japanese who believed birth control movements to be a means of weakening Japan, as argued by Majima Kan. Too much interference in birth control issues from Japan’s main wartime enemy could allow SCAP to be painted as conquerors rather than liberators, an image the United States hoped to avoid. Thus, SCAP maintained that the

⁴⁸ “Meeting on Population Problems,” 8

⁴⁹ Ibid., 5

responsibility lay with the Japanese government to decide the extent of the problem and how to solve it.

SCAP actions were so noncommittal on this point that they ended up being criticized for limiting American influence on Japanese reform. Douglas MacArthur sparked heavy scrutiny of SCAP actions surrounding public access to birth control in 1949 when he denied an entrance visa to American feminist and birth control activist Margaret Sanger for the purpose of lecturing on the issue. In July 1949, President of the Yomiuri Newspaper Company, Baba Tsunego, sought to use Katō Shidzue's friendship with Sanger to gauge her interest in coming to Japan. He writes to Sanger, "The Yomiuri Newspaper Company...would like to invite you to Japan with the cooperation of Mrs. Katō to solicit your direct guidance concerning the issue of birth control, the only remedial measure for over-population, which has become [a] life and death problem for Japan today, and sex education related to birth control"⁵⁰ He followed up his letter with a request to GHQ to allow Sanger a visa into Japan stating that overpopulation remained a serious issue in Japan and that "a large number of people, bewildered because of a lack of scientific knowledge, will be benefited by direct instruction from her."⁵¹

MacArthur's office denied the newspaper's request for an entry visa for Sanger, citing SCAP's wish to remain neutral on the matter. Brigadier General Crawford Sams, in fact, felt particularly sensitive toward any action that might show the United States leading an attempt to reduce population, not least of all because of the systematic attempt to eradicate European Jews at the hands of Nazi Germany. Sams writes, "As an occupying power, it would be a very unwise thing for anybody in the Occupation to attempt to dictate to the Japanese that they have to limit

⁵⁰ Tsunego Baba, *Yomiuri Letter to Mrs. Sanger*, Materials on the Allied Occupation of Japan – Japanese Diet Library, Microfiche, GS(B)-02021, 1

⁵¹ Tsunego Baba, *Copy of Yomiuri Letter to CI&E*, Materials on the Allied Occupation of Japan – Japanese Diet Library, Microfiche, GS(B)-02021, 1

their families. [It] would lead to a Communist, or any other charge, that the occupying powers are trying to strangle the population of Japan.”⁵²

Despite SCAP’s wish to remain neutral, the visa denial to Sanger sparked a cascade of letters addressed to MacArthur pouring into GHQ. While Japanese activists, like Katō Shidzue, who worked to bring Sanger to Japan, protested the decision as evidence of indifference to the need for reproductive education for the Japanese people, letters from Americans who had learned of the plans for Sanger to visit Japan and the subsequent denial of her entry in local newspapers, took the opportunity to take moral and religious positions against MacArthur and SCAP leadership. One such letter asks:

Who is governing Japan just now, you or the hierarchy of the Roman Catholic Church? And if you are sure that you are present administrator of the government of that country why should allow yourself to be led by an insidious political organization into jeopardizing the destinies of either million people...For nineteen centuries this church has impeded the progress, development and enlightenment of mankind...The lying argument it has given you in this instance is no doubt that birth control is contrary to religious precept. Birth control is not contrary to Protestant religious concept.⁵³

Another letter from Barbara Dickison bemoaned Catholicism as fostering Communism:

As for the Catholics, they would do well to ponder the fate of the predominantly Catholic nations of Europe. In most of them the Catholic pressure for large families and overpopulation and the resultant lowering of living standards made fertile ground in which Communism flourished.⁵⁴

The Dickison letter both accused MacArthur of bowing to Catholic pressure to keep birth control information from the Japanese, but also played on rising fears that Communism was spreading. Japan, with its postwar demographic issues, would presumably fall to the same fate as Russia

⁵² Crawford Sams, *Telephone Conversation Between General Whitney and General Sams*, February 22, 1950, Materials on the Allied Occupation of Japan – Japanese Diet Library, Microfiche, GS(B)-02021, 1

⁵³ Halliam Bosworth, *Letter to Douglas MacArthur*, February 1, 1950, Materials on the Allied Occupation of Japan – Japanese Diet Library, Microfiche, GS(B)-02021, 1

⁵⁴ Barbara E. Dickison, *Letter to Douglas MacArthur*, March 8, 1950, Materials on the Allied Occupation of Japan – Japanese Diet Library, Microfiche, GS(B)-02021, 1

and China without birth control to stem Marxist revolution and, ultimately, the failure of the Occupation.

In fact, the record does not offer evidence that MacArthur was colluding with Catholic groups against the accessibility of birth control information. Instead, he toed the same line of neutrality that SCAP had always purported to maintain on population control, and Japanese sexuality. In his standard reply to letters protesting the Sanger issue, MacArthur writes:

I have yielded to pressure from neither the group in advocacy nor that in opposition to birth control, but have consistently and publicly taken the position that the subject matter is a social problem for solution by the Japanese people themselves without interference, directly or indirectly, by the Allied powers...last June, I publicly reiterated my position to the local Catholic Woman's Club, ending with the conclusion that, 'Birth control, with its social, economic, and theological sides, is, in final analysis, for individual judgment and decision.'⁵⁵

MacArthur tried to defuse the situation by explaining his neutral stance and pointing to his consistent message to both Protestant and Catholic parties that population and birth control would be left up to the Japanese themselves and not dictated by SCAP. Moreover, MacArthur reaffirmed the belief that granting Sanger a visa to enter Japan for the purposes of birth control education would indicate approval and support for population reduction through birth control, a stance that SCAP consistently stated it would not entertain.

In truth, MacArthur was more fearful that had he granted Sanger's entry request, the steps that Japanese government and civilian organizations had taken to spread information on birth control would be usurped by the perception that it was really SCAP that instigated expanded access to birth control. In fact, organizations like the Japan Birth Control League, made up of mostly of civilian women and medical experts, worked with urban doctors to educate them about birth control so they could, in turn, provide accurate birth control advice to their patients. In

⁵⁵ Douglas MacArthur, *Letter*, April 3, 1950, Materials on the Allied Occupation of Japan – Japanese Diet Library, Microfiche, GS(B)-02020, 1-2

addition, Katō Shidzue's activism in the Diet helped break the Japanese government's general inaction toward birth control as a means to curb the population problem by allowing for the expansion of women's legal rights to reproductive choice. In 1948, Katō pushed the Eugenics Protection Law through the Diet that would reform the National Eugenics Law of 1940 by, in consultation with and approval from a doctor, allowing sterilization and abortion to prevent hereditary diseases from being passed on to children and to protect the life of the mother.⁵⁶ By 1950, the Eugenics Protection Law had been expanded to include abortion for the health of the mother and for economic reasons, putting reproductive choice, ultimately, in the hands of Japanese women rather than her doctor or the state.

Publicity surrounding the Eugenics Protection Law created a groundswell of interest in birth control, especially among Japanese women who hoped for better control of family planning for economic or physical reasons. To meet the demand, activists like Katō advocated for and helped establish clinics across Japan where women could go for accurate information and to gain access to contraception, namely condoms. MacArthur himself lauded the efforts of Katō and the Diet in passing the law, writing in a response letter to one of the critics of the Sanger visa denial: "This law provides standards for...the manufacture and distribution of contraceptives...and the establishments of government-supervised birth control clinics in each of the 675 government-operated health centers throughout the country." He went on to dismiss the premise that Japan desperately needed the kind of direction and expertise Margaret Sanger would bring on a speaking tour of the country because the Japanese were already gaining access to birth control information through the domestic efforts of activists like Katō Shidzue and increasing empowerment of women over their bodies through the Eugenics Protection Law: "Those advocates of birth control who fear that the Japanese may not avail themselves of the methods

⁵⁶ Elise Tipton, "Ishimoto Shizue," 344

provided by this law without outside counsel and advice should be encouraged to know that already the recorded sale of contraceptives⁵⁷ in Japan is in excess of fifteen million per month.”⁵⁸

CONCLUSION

Far from the image of a controlled, calculated U.S.-led occupation, the dual power structure present in Japan created a complex environment in which perceptions held as much power to drive attempts to undermine SCAP reform efforts as they did to shape SCAP discourse on the benefits or detriments of heavy-handed reform. For Japan, political actors reacted against perceived threats to Japan’s sexual morality, but the methods of containment the Japanese government investigated were as much about rebuilding Japan for the future as they were about saving Japan’s sexuality and maintaining public order at that moment. With SCAP concerned more about removing fascism from education than the content of sex education in the classroom, Japan’s Ministry of Education could pursue non-fascist methods to undermine SCAP authority with minimal interference.

During the Occupation, Japanese politicians and educators alike voiced similar concerns surrounding the health of Japan’s sexual morality, namely that the movement of prostitution as an institution catering to men’s sexual desire from back alley brothels to public streets posed a threat to the longevity of Japan as a nation. While under occupation, they seemed to agree that sex education was needed during a period in time when access, visually, to sexuality on display for children was prevalent. Through education, officials hoped to combat the negative influence that witnessing a *pan pan* girl flag down an American customer, for example, might have on children by steering them toward sexual purity through self-control and fostering healthy

⁵⁷ MacArthur does not state the type of contraceptive, but condoms would be the most likely form.

⁵⁸ Douglas MacArthur, *Letter*, 2

activities for recreation. However, in exploring idyllic plans to save Japan's youth from immoral sexual behavior as modeled by Occupation personnel and the streetwalking prostitutes SCAP allowed to proliferate, the record reflects the same fears in prewar and postwar society, namely that sex education was necessary to ensure a healthy future for Japan, but the nation's teachers lacked the education and the maturity to effectively teach sex education to their students. Still, no real plan emerged from the Committee on Purity Education to address the problem aside from outlining what was "impure" about Japanese sexuality under occupation, and then bouncing sex education back into the home. The only consensus that emerged was that sex education should undermine the poor sexual morals on display by the foreign occupiers, but no one was sure how to do it effectively.

For SCAP, despite having supreme power over Japan's political and social institutions, certain social issues demanded that MacArthur and his staff tread lightly. On the one hand, SCAP officials believed that rebuilding Japan as a successful, democratic nation would determine the Occupation as a success overall. Overpopulation, on a number of levels, posed credible threats against SCAP's success as an occupying authority. On the other hand, SCAP was concerned that exerting too much power over controversial social issues, like limiting the birth rate through expanded access to contraception, would foster the perception that SCAP reforms were punitive in nature rather than designed for Japan's benefit. Allowing Japanese reformers the relative freedom to pursue birth control reforms as they desired would bring its own brand of criticism against SCAP's position, but MacArthur seemed to carefully weight his position and, in his neutrality, allowed Japanese political actors to move forward as they saw fit.

Chapter Four: **Censoring the Liberated Body: *Lady Chatterley's Lover* and State Power in Postwar Japan**

For Japan's politicians, the Allied Occupation's reforms brought sexuality into the public sphere. SCAP reforms outlawed the generally accepted licensed prostitution system, an institution relegated to areas of cities typically out of the public eye. Its replacement was thousands of streetwalking prostitutes legally offering their bodies to passersby near train stations, parks, and entertainment establishments. As prewar state mechanisms designed to shape Japanese sexuality for the benefit of the state seemed to slip away, the Japanese government moved to undermine the influence of foreign sexuality on its population through attempts to limit streetwalking prostitution while teaching and reinforcing "proper" views of sexuality for the nation's youth through purity education.

Sociologist Mark McLelland, however, shows that Occupation reforms meant to instill democracy also brought a "liberation of sex" through the "respect for human rights, equality of men and women, freedom of speech, and women's political enfranchisement."¹ Where the Japanese state found immorality and a perceived loss of control over proper notions of sexuality, therefore, others found freedom and opportunity. Apart from the *pan pan* girls themselves, McLelland's sexual liberation played out most intensely in print media, as writers embraced what scholar Nakae Katsumi calls "the winds of freedom."² Nakae argues that the early leader of this emerging sexual literature was former Imperial soldier Tamura Taijirō, whose most famous work, *The Gate of Flesh* (*Nikutai no Mon*), brought frank discussion of sexuality into

¹ Mark McLelland, "Kissing is a Symbol of Democracy!" Dating, Democracy, and Romance in Occupied Japan, 1945-1952, *Journal of the History of Sexuality*, Volume 19, Number 3 (September 2010), 518

² Katsumi Nakae, "Sei no Bungaku: Sono Hyōgen no Kiseki, Sore ha "Nikutai no Mon" kara Hajimatta" printed in *Sei no Bungaku*, (Tokyo, Kawade Shobo Shinsha, 1994), 76

Japan's postwar literary discourse.³ Disgusted by the burned out shell that the war had left of Japan, Tamura infused *The Gate of Flesh* with a critique of the intellectual society of Japan that had taken the nation to war and utter defeat. Tamura welcomed the Allied Occupation and its reforms that promised increased liberty, but also argued that promising to instill democracy and guaranteeing freedoms alone would not truly liberate the people of Japan without a frank and honest acknowledgment of human sexuality. To him, "the liberation of the people [would] result from the liberation of the flesh."⁴

For scholar Douglas Slaymaker, Tamura's focus on the body as the locus of liberation put him at the forefront of a pantheon of postwar writers commenting on sexuality. To Slaymaker, the body served as a natural site for the discussion of personal liberty in postwar Japan for three major reasons. First, the physical act of working, rebuilding, traveling, and scavenging to survive in the aftermath of Japan's defeat required the inescapable sight of bodily labor. Second, pleasures of the body (*nikutai*) and hedonistic sexual indulgences, served as the "antidote" to the controlling propagandistic imperial ideology (*kokutai*) that bore down upon the Japanese people during the war years. Finally, with Occupation policy lifting censorship laws in place since the Meiji era (1868-1912), the "obsession with the body was also, in part, a response to the wartime censorship that made it extremely difficult to write of the erotic, of the political, and of wartime deprivations."⁵ Liberating writers' ability to physically create erotic discourse would simultaneously liberate the bodies of the Japanese people. Tamura Taijirō's work embraced all three concepts to communicate his personal ideology through his literature.

³ Tamura is credited in coining the term "*nikutai*" to refer to "flesh." Written with the characters for "meat" and "body," *nikutai* offered a more visceral, minimalistic descriptor for the body as opposed to "*karada*" (body) what was the standard, more sanitary choice for referencing the body.

⁴ Nakae, 76

⁵ Douglas Slaymaker, *The Body in Postwar Japanese Fiction*, (London: Routledge Curzon, 2004) 1-2

Published in 1947, Tamura's *The Gate of Flesh* focuses on a group of prostitutes who band together during the Occupation to support each other by selling themselves for sex and sharing the proceeds among the group. Like many postwar prostitutes, their choice to enter the profession was based on economic need in the face of destitution and possible starvation.⁶ To maximize their strength and survival chances, the women agree on a pact to never give themselves away for free as that would decrease the potential income of the entire group. Rule breakers would face harsh corporal punishment and exile from the protection of the group.⁷

In setting the dramatic tension around the prostitutes' decision to abide by their own rule, Tamura builds his story around a common practice among actual postwar prostitutes. Like their brothel counterparts, many *pan pan* girls found themselves bonding together in groups to share proceeds to aid survival. The money was individually earned, but made more effective by sharing it among the group. A weak link who fell in love and engaged in sex for passion rather than profit would threaten the survival of all members of the makeshift commune by removing that potential income from the group coffers.

In the novel, when a wounded former imperial soldier and town street tough named Ibuki comes upon the circle of prostitutes for aid and shelter, each woman inevitably begins to feel a carnal attraction to the ruffian. As an outsider, Ibuki's very presence threatens the balance of the prostitutes' agreement, but also represents a life outside that is not bound by the rules of the prostitute's den. Indulgence in temptation to taste that other world, however, would break the rules of the sisterhood and so the women resist. In the novel's climax, the young prostitute Maya, after watching Ibuki slaughter a bull and share the meat among the women in a lavish party of food and drink, drunkenly gives in to her desire and beds Ibuki. When the other prostitutes

⁶ See Sheldon Garon, *Molding Japanese Minds: The State in Everyday Life*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997)

⁷ Taijirō Tamura, *Nikutai no Akuma; Ushinawareta Otoko*, (Tokyo: Kōdansha, 2006), 144-184

discover her betrayal, she is strung up and lashed as punishment and then cast out from the circle. Despite these consequences, by experiencing sex as an expression of passion rather than as a commodity, Maya passes into a more mature realm of existence. Slaymaker shows that she is unrepentant even under torture: "Maya was struck with the idea that even if she were banished to Hell, she would not be separated from the pleasure of the flesh she experienced for the first time [with Ibuki]. She felt that a new life was beginning."⁸ Through Maya's ordeal, Tamura reveals his philosophical hope for Japan's postwar trajectory. Personal liberation could only come through an open and sincere indulgence in carnality. From his perspective, liberating the mind from wartime fascist propaganda, but failing to liberate the body from puritan morality would never result in true liberation for the people of Japan.

Tamura later conceded that *The Gate of Flesh* was his attempt to restore Japan's forsaken sexuality. Tamura saw the very public nature of the Edo Period's floating world obfuscated by western moral conceptualizations of sexuality as Japan imported puritan moralism as part of the post-Perry deluge of foreign influence. The elongated phalluses and willing vaginas of 18th century woodblock prints (*shunga*) disappeared under the pressures of "civilization and enlightenment" that made no room for a sexually expressive public. For Tamura, intellectualism and puritan morality created a divide between the mind and the body, relegating sexuality to shady back alley brothels and shameful desire that betrayed the inherent sexual nature of humanity. Tamura argues that a driving intellectualism ultimately led Japan to its own destruction:

'Thought' is, at this time threatening to push us down; it does nothing else. 'Thought' has, for a long time, been draped with the authoritarian robes of a despotic government, but now the body is rising up in opposition. The distrust of 'thought' is complete. We now believe in nothing but our own bodies. Only the body is real. The body's weariness, the body's desires, the body's anger, the body's intoxications, the body's confusion, the body's

⁸ Slaymaker, *The Body in Postwar Japanese Fiction*, 60

fatigue - only these are real. It is because of all these things that we realize, for the first time, that we are alive.⁹

Tamura understood, however, that even with Japan's surrender and the freedoms bestowed under the Occupation, the pressure of this "thought" as exerted by the state would never be completely lifted. He demonstrates this understanding through Maya who agrees to play by the rules constructed within her makeshift society of prostitutes. In her group, giving her body to another without pay was taboo. When she breached the taboo barrier and felt personal redemption through her indulgence in sexual desire, that society's members passed judgment upon her crime and swiftly moved to punish, marginalize, and cast her out. This action served two intended purposes for the society of prostitutes. First, through punishment, Maya was forced to internalize that the desires of the group, protected by their own socially constructed rules and customs, reigned supreme above Maya's individual desires. Second, Maya's punishment was carried out in front of other members of their society as a means to deter them from also breaking their binding rule.

Tamura portrays this power struggle between individual desire and social duty within a miniature society of prostitutes, but this group, and the entire text, also exemplify a larger postwar social dilemma. Japanese writers sought to test the boundaries of SCAP's democratic reforms by engaging in discourse about sex, but Japanese authorities worked to limit that expression by turning to surviving prewar methods to legally control it. The conceptualization of a sexually liberated Japanese society blossoming out of Japan's defeat, then, was too simplistic. While it is true that authors like Tamura, James Joyce, and D.H. Lawrence found a willing consumer audience in postwar Japan, and that publication policies under the Occupation made it much easier for sexually explicit materials to be published for societal consumption, law

⁹ Taijirō Tamura, as quoted in Slaymaker, *The Body in Postwar Japanese Fiction*, 3

enforcement agencies continued to act upon prewar concepts of obscenity and Meiji Era modes of censorship to cleanse society of the offending publications and affirm state control over society's sexual morality.

During the Occupation years, the prewar legal framework that allowed for prosecution of sexually explicit publications remained in place, but Japanese authorities took a subordinate role to the larger censorship apparatus installed by the Occupation. SCAP authorities reserved the right to deny publication of materials they felt threatened the success of the Occupation, but chose to leave Japan's penal code and law enforcement agencies intact to handle domestic crime. Thus, during the Occupation, SCAP could approve materials for publication that could potentially violate the Japanese penal code and cause the Japanese authorities to confiscate the materials and prosecute the violators.

This complex dual-power structure would create some confusion in the marketplace for publishers and nowhere was that more evident than in the legal battles surrounding D.H. Lawrence's controversial *Lady Chatterley's Lover*, which would be prosecuted for obscenity in a series of legal trials. Just as Maya's punishment in *The Gate of Flesh* served as a visible deterrent within her makeshift postwar society, the obscenity trial and subsequent appeals spanning 1950-1957 surrounding the translation of D.H. Lawrence's *Lady Chatterley's Lover* functioned as a deterrent to publishing overly sexually explicit materials. With a single Supreme Court decision, the Japanese state reclaimed power over the regulation and censorship of sexually explicit publications and, more broadly, disempowered individual citizens by entrusting itself with the role of definer and protector of postwar social morality.

BACKGROUND TO THE CASE

Koyama vs. Japan (more popularly referred to as the Lady Chatterley Case) warrants scrutiny, as it is the first time that the legality of the functioning obscenity clause outlined in Article 175 of the Japanese penal code was brought before Japan's fledgling Supreme Court. The penal code, written in 1907, during the twilight of Japan's Meiji Era, remained relatively intact throughout the reforms enacted by the Occupation and continued to function as the standard domestic criminal code. Article 175 states:

A person who distributes or sells an obscene writing, picture or other object or who publicly displays the same, shall be punished with imprisonment at forced labor for not more than two years or a fine of not more than 5,000 yen or a minor fine. The same applies to a person who possesses the same for the purpose of sale.¹⁰

Article 175 never explicitly states the guidelines that law enforcement should apply to a "writing, picture or other object" to deem it obscene. International standards defining obscenity point to a fluid understanding of the concept that could be manipulated by the courts at will.¹¹ In Great Britain, for example, in the 1868 Queen's Bench case, *Regina v. Hicklin*, Chief Justice Cockburn attempted to clarify the meaning of "obscenity" in his decision, stating that his standard was "whether the tendency of the matter charged as obscenity is to deprave and corrupt whose minds are open to such immoral influences, and into whose hands a publication of this sort may fall."¹² That in Cockburn's definition of obscenity he chose equally ambiguous words such as "deprave" and "immoral" without defining them in concrete terms speaks to the slippery nature of the concept, leaving it open to myriad legal interpretations and diverse applications of anti-obscenity law depending upon the perspective of the law enforcement agent or agency.

¹⁰ John M. Maki, *Court and Constitution in Japan: Selected Supreme Court Decisions, 1948-60*, (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1964), 4

¹¹ Saburō Kuramochi, *Chatarei Fūjin no Koibito Saiban: Nichibeei no Hikaku*, (Tokyo: Sairyūsha, 2007), 48

¹² Thomas C. Mackay, *Pornography on Trial: A Handbook with Cases, Laws, and Documents*, (Santa Barbara: ABC-CLIO, 2002), 135

In Japan, Article 175 received scant enforcement prior to Japan's surrender to the Allied Powers in 1945 due to existing publication laws designed to preemptively halt sexually explicit materials before they reached publication. The Publication Ordinance of 1869, for example, targeted certain areas of speech that the newly established Meiji government believed threatening, including subversive discussions espousing the ideals of liberal democracy, writings that criticized or portrayed the emperor negatively, or writings that threatened public morals such as pornography. To keep such expression from entering into the public sphere, the ordinance required publishers to submit materials to the police for approval before they were published. Those written materials that the police deemed to be obscene would not receive approval for publication. The Meiji government augmented the 1869 ordinance in 1893 with more explicit terms of punishment for publishers who failed to follow the original ordinance and printed their materials either without preapproval or in spite of a denial to publish. Article 27 of the Publication Law of 1893 states:

When a writing or drawing which disturbs public peace and order or which corrupts public morals is published, the author and publisher are to be punished with imprisonment without hard labor of not less than eleven days or more than six months or a fine of not less than ten yen or not more than one hundred yen.¹³

The combination of the 1869 Publication Ordinance and the 1893 Publication Law gave explicit powers to Japanese censors to unilaterally deem potential publications to be obscene. Moreover, the promulgation of the Constitution of the Empire of Japan in 1889 removed any guarantees to redress from the publishers by establishing freedoms of expression and the press in Article 29, but both allowed only within limits of the law.¹⁴ While this gave absolute power to the Japanese government in its ability to promote its social agenda and censor any ideological differences that

¹³ Mackay, *Pornography on Trial*, 4

¹⁴ William Theodore de Bary, ed., "The Meiji Constitution," *Sources of Japanese Tradition Vol. 2: 1600-2000*, (New York: Columbia University Press, 2005), 747

were expressed in writing, more importantly, these laws also looked to solidify the hierarchical relationship between the government and the people in determining moral content of publications. Questions of the “public good” lay solely within the jurisdiction of the state instead of the citizen, and to defend the public’s morality it would act to remove those publications it deemed potentially harmful before they ever reached the press.

During the Occupation, SCAP, however, abolished all Meiji Era publication ordinances and instituted a press code governing domestic Japanese publications in September 1945. The elaborate penal code, however, survived to oversee domestic conduct, leaving Article 175 as the sole prewar legal method for the Japanese government to try to limit sexually explicit publications among the domestic population. Regulation of Occupation-era publication, then, fell under a two separate jurisdictions that functioned within the same political structure. The new press code, despite abolishing the publication laws entrenched during the Meiji Era, contained certain restrictions that allowed for the censorship of materials that criticized the Allied Occupation by the Civil Censorship Detachment (CCD). Similar to the Publication Ordinance of 1869, the CCD required Japanese publishers to submit all materials they wished to publish to the CCD for scrutiny and approval. Unlike the Meiji laws, however, the Occupation Press Code offered no authority for the censorship of obscene or pornographic materials and most sexually themed publications, such as the erotic pulp *kasutori* magazines that boomed in the immediate postwar years, passed through the CCD without incident.¹⁵

Under closer scrutiny, however, CCD documents occasionally show a disconnect between the values and concerns of CCD employees as they attempted to evaluate written material and the ultimate application of the press code with regard to sexually explicit materials.

¹⁵ *Code for Japan Press*, Assistant Chief of Staff, Civil Censorship Detachment, (September 21, 1945), Materials on the Allied Occupation of Japan, Gordon W. Prange Collection, 1

Jay Rubin's study of Occupation Era censorship reveals that the CCD employed more than 5,000 native Japanese citizens to read over the vast number of submissions sent for approval. These examiners would indicate areas that they deemed questionable in relation to the press code and offer recommendations on how to remedy the anomalies. Often, examiners flagged sexually explicit material and recommended it be suppressed for the healthy development of postwar society. Rubin illustrates one such case in regard to a *kasutori* magazine titled *Shinchō*. The examiner, one M. Yamamoto, writes of author Sakaguchi Ango's short story "Going to Make Love" that "there is a description of their sexual ecstasy (23 lines). Pornography is no press code violation. However, I'd like to recommend deletion of these lines (p.78) for the healthy development of Japanese post-war fiction."¹⁶ That the article passed CCD censors unchanged fell in line with the CCD's disinterest in restricting sexually explicit material as it generally did not include subversive elements against Occupation goals. But the examiner's comments also reveal the continuing influence of the values underpinning Meiji Era censorship laws as a force that continued in the postwar era to exert pressure upon the citizens of Japan to view sexually explicit material as harmful or unhealthy.

With the abrogation of the Meiji publication laws and the CCD's policy of approving sexually explicit materials, publishers exercised their freedom to publish erotic materials, such as the *kasutori* magazines, that would have fallen to censorship before surrender. In the postwar environment, *kasutori* magazines and *kasutori* newspapers flooded the consumer market. CCD records indicate that in the Osaka area alone, "obscene newspaper" circulation rose from 60,000 copies in December 1946 of one newspaper to fifteen different newspapers with a total of 828,000 copies in circulation in January 1948. In the same time span, *kasutori* magazine

¹⁶ Jay Rubin, "From Wholesomeness to Decadence: The Censorship of Literature under the Allied Occupation," *Journal of Japanese Studies*, Vol. 11, No. 1 (Winter, 1985), 98-99

circulation in Osaka increased from 30,000 copies to 154,000 copies, offering publishers a burgeoning market from which to profit in the poor postwar economy.¹⁷

With the erotic publication market expanding without censure from the Civil Censorship Detachment, publishers of these materials often felt confused about the legality of their erotica. To limit the confusion, the CCD sent communications along with the approved materials to publishers indicating that the penal code was still in effect and that although materials may have passed Occupation censors, this was no indication that they were safe from prosecution under the Japanese penal code. Despite this notice, this dual system created an ambiguous power structure for publishers and especially for booksellers. Shops raided by Japanese police based on accusations they were selling obscene materials, confused as to why police confiscated their wares, would present official documents from the CCD to the police authorities indicating that the materials had passed through the censors and arguing that the materials were therefore not susceptible to confiscation under Article 175.¹⁸ The publisher and booksellers assumed that the CCD's permission to publish the material superseded the existing criminal code, especially considering the supreme power over Japan was vested in SCAP.

Because of the ambiguity surrounding publishing rights, the number of erotic publications increased throughout Japan. To combat this expanding market, Japanese police often raided booksellers that carried the *kasutori* magazines and newspapers under the authority of Article 175. In July 1948, the Commander of the Fukuoka Prefecture Police Corps, for example, circulated a directive to the police superintendents in each district to “wipe out the publications from the market in order to elevate the national moral standard and at the same time

¹⁷ CIS-00066, *Obscene Publications and Plays: Charts*, microfiche, April 1948, Materials on the Allied Occupation of Japan, National Diet Library, 1-10

¹⁸ CIS-00066, I. J. Tavormina, *Police Confiscation of Obscene Publications*, microfiche, September 3, 1948, Materials on the Allied Occupation of Japan, National Diet Library, 1

maintain good manners and customs.” The commander scheduled this particular raid for July 15 to be conducted simultaneously throughout Fukuoka.¹⁹ The raid took place as ordered, and police confiscated 1370 copies of books, newspapers, and magazines suspected of containing obscenity.²⁰ Such raids were not uncommon throughout the Occupation years.

Because the CCD resisted censoring sexually explicit materials in favor of propping up a dual system of authority over publications, Japanese authorities could place blame on the Occupation for allowing the spread of obscenity and, ultimately, contributing to the decline of public morality. Accordingly, through their attempts to expunge the offending publications from the market, Japanese authorities could perceive themselves as defenders of Japan's national morality against the immoral influence of a foreign occupier. Indeed, in his raid order, the Commander of the Fukuoka Prefecture Police Corps voiced his displeasure with SCAP's reforms supporting Japanese democracy:

The decay of the national morals through the distorted interpretation of democracy after the war seems to be helped along by corrupt publishers who are furnishing the public with obscene books, magazines, etc. under the cloak of freedom of speech and press.²¹

The commander clearly saw the erotic publications as a major threat to the moral health of Japanese society, but the source of the scourge ultimately lay with the importation of a free press through Occupation reform. By raiding publishers and booksellers of suspected obscene materials, then, the Japanese police around the nation battled not only the spread of obscenity they believed to be corrupting the public, but also the Occupation policies that approved the erotic materials for publication in the first place. In short, Japanese authorities used Meiji Era criminal law to circumvent the publication policy imposed by SCAP so as to reestablish the kind

¹⁹ CIS-00066, *Wholesale Control of Obscene Publications*, microfiche, July 6, 1948, Materials on the Allied Occupation of Japan, National Diet Library, 1

²⁰ CIS-00066, Tavormina, *Police Confiscation of Obscene Publications*, 2

²¹ CIS-00066, *Wholesale Control of Obscene Publications*, 1

of state control over erotica that they had enjoyed under the Meiji Era publication laws while still operating within the accepted legal structures of a democratizing nation under foreign occupation.

LADY CHATTERLEY ON TRIAL

Despite the efforts of the Japanese police to stem the expansion of erotic publications, *kasutori* materials continued to flourish, bringing not only domestic pressure, but also international pressure calling for the protection of Japan's public morals. Indeed, by 1948 the international press began to take notice of the kinds of publications that thrived in occupied Japan. Writing for the *Saturday Review of Literature*, former Tokyo correspondent for the *New York Herald Tribune* Ralph Chapman criticized the trend of wartime censorship and propaganda giving way to the rise of "lurid tripe" under the auspices of a free press at the expense of publications with "literary merit."²²

Domestically, grassroots organizations united to put pressure on Japanese authorities to rid society of the free sale of obscene materials. In Osaka, for example, notable members of society began a "Public Morals Committee" in January 1950 intending to bring attention in their community to "obscene literature, movies, and plays, which [were] corrupting the morals and youth."²³ The Osaka Public Morals Committee utilized moral suasion within the community itself to try to shrink the number of willing buyers of erotic publications. They paid special

²² CIS-04097, Ralph Chapman, *Japan: Propaganda to Pornography*, "The Saturday Review of Literature," microfiche, July 31, 1948, Materials on the Allied Occupation of Japan, National Diet Library, 8

²³ CIS(c)-04210, J.H. Shino, *Information on the Public Moral Committee in Osaka*, microfiche, January 31, 1950, Materials on the Allied Occupation of Japan, National Diet Library, 1-2

attention to educating the youth of Osaka by distributing flyers to schools calling for school-aged youth to boycott “with purity of heart” obscene publications to “clean and beautify the city.”²⁴

Other domestic groups chose to put direct moral pressure upon the Japanese authorities to fight against obscenity. The Osaka Housewife Association, for example, sent representatives to the Osaka Municipal Police Board to implore them to take a hard line against publishers and booksellers who violated Article 175. Concurrently, the Association sent letters of protest to erotic publishers and collected signatures among its members and the Osaka community to send to Japan’s Education and Welfare Ministries asking for sponsorship of stricter laws to combat the spread of obscenity.²⁵

Facing both international and domestic criticism of the spread of erotic publications, Japanese police continued to confiscate obscene materials and prosecute booksellers and publishers under Article 175. Because of the sheer numbers of erotic materials passing CCD censors and flowing into the marketplace, individual efforts by municipal police forces to stem the deluge received little national attention. Moreover, the CCD forced Japanese authorities to wait for CCD approval of publications in question before police could act to apply Article 175. This limited the effectiveness of police efforts to stop further publication after the fact and pushed the Japanese authorities into the background behind the efforts of the CCD.

To bring more visibility to their attempts to thwart the availability of obscene materials, Japanese authorities needed an example of obscenity that made national headlines and would garner little to no interference from Occupation authorities. The path to such a high-profile prosecution of obscenity became clear in 1949. That year, with a new constitution in place and

²⁴ CIS(c)-04210, *Seishōnen Gakuto no Minasan*, microfiche, poster by the Osaka Public Morals Committee, 1950, Materials on the Allied Occupation of Japan, National Diet Library

²⁵ CIS(c)-04211, *Elimination of Erotic Magazines*, microfiche, “Mainichi”, January 17, 1950, Materials on the Allied Occupation of Japan, National Diet Library

the number of sensitive military missions dwindling, the Civil Censorship Detachment ceased functioning as an organ of the Occupation. By that time, GHQ believed that the Japanese had properly learned the concept of a “free press” and further censorship of free political speech by SCAP would have been inappropriate under the terms of the new constitution. By its end, the CCD streamlined most submissions to approval status without much scrutiny. The demise of the CCD returned regulation of publications back into the sole hands of Japanese authorities who operated under Article 21 of the new constitution, effective as of May 3, 1947, which states:

Freedom of assembly and association as well as speech, press, and all other forms of expression are guaranteed. No censorship shall be maintained, nor shall the secrecy of any means of communication be violated.²⁶

While the terms of freedom of publication and the press appear inviolate under the new constitution, government jurisdiction over potentially obscene materials remained embedded within Article 175 of the still-functioning 1907 Penal Code which neither GHQ nor the Japanese authorities believed to be in contradiction to the new constitution. Publication of the translated unexpurgated edition of D.H. Lawrence's *Lady Chatterley's Lover* offered the first high-profile instance in which the Japanese government could exert its reclaimed power and, ultimately, define the terms of prosecuting obscene publications for subsequent infringement.

Published in early 1950, *Lady Chatterley's Lover* became a runaway bestseller in Japan selling 150,000 copies of the two-part novel within two months of publication.²⁷ That year, Tokyo police arrested the publisher, Koyama Kyujirō, and the translator, Itō Sei, under the authority of Article 175 of the Penal Code for publishing material they deemed pornographic. The ensuing trial in the Tokyo District Court brought testimony, both for and against the

²⁶ de Bary, “A New Basic Document: The 1947 Constitution,” *Sources of Japanese Tradition Vol. 2: 1600-2000*, 1033

²⁷ Keiji Okamoto, *Dounaru? “Waisetsu” no Genkei/Asu Chūmoku no “Chattarei Kōban”* Mainichi Shinbun Yūkan, (May 7, 1951)

legitimacy of the work, from a wide range of people including notable literary names, high school principals, and leaders of housewife associations. In particular, Gauntlet Tsuneko, president of the Women's Christian Temperance Union, testified: "*Lady Chatterley's Lover* was a book I do not want to allow children to read. More specifically, the descriptions are too frank. We, as mature adults, have a duty to keep books like this out of people's hands."²⁸ Echoing Gauntlet's testimony, Katano Girl's School principal Higashi Masa explained that the explicit way in which Lawrence described the sex act could cause some to worry and for that reason, he "would not allow his students to read this kind of book."²⁹

Both Gauntlet and Higashi testified as mature authoritative figures looking to protect the children of Japan from Lawrence's portrayal of sexual intercourse. The prosecution valued this line of testimony as it painted *Lady Chatterley's Lover* in terms of the Hicklin standard (described above) that had been adopted by England and the United States and sought to use that standard to justify the prosecution of obscene materials. Article 175 of the penal code, in its vague writing, gave individual discretion to law enforcement officials to decide what was or was not obscene, but references to the Hicklin standard and its focus on obscenity corrupting minds susceptible to such corruption would allow authorities to justify measures to censor obscene materials more concretely by first establishing that a nation's youth were more open to influence and then arguing to what degree confiscated materials could influence those youth. The Hicklin standard, then, served as an internationally recognized model upon which Japanese prosecutors attempted to justify state censorship as a protective against the moral corruption of Japan's youth, even if the standard itself had not adopted by Japan's courts as a legal definer of obscenity.

²⁸ Kuramochi, *Chatarei Fūjin no Koibito Saiban*, 48

²⁹ *Ibid.*, 52

To counter the prosecution and its argument that *Lady Chatterley's Lover* was obscene in line with the Hicklin standard, the defense attempted to remove the social taboo from the sex act by portraying it as a natural part of humanity. *Mainichi Shinbun* journalist Abe Shinnosuke, for example, testified that though some of the passages were explicit, “sexual desire itself is not sinful. It is commonplace philosophy that it is very important for humans.”³⁰ Abe’s testimony attempted to shift the focus off of the explicitness of Lawrence’s descriptions to the concept that the sex act is a natural and necessary component to human procreation and is not obscene in and of itself, despite the frank manner of Lawrence’s prose.

In a further effort to counteract the prosecution’s case, the defense adopted a strategy of showing the artistic merit of the work in the hope that its craftsmanship and importance as a piece of literature would negate concerns of obscenity by appealing to the literary world for support. Oxford University educated novelist Yoshida Kenichi testified for the defense claiming that “Lawrence removed the harmful oppression of the flesh by describing it in its natural state...it can be said, then, that the problematic parts collectively are the highest form of literature.”³¹ To Yoshida, it was the frank nature of Lawrence's descriptions that bucked the trend of prewar state control of sexuality and allowed for the sort of liberation of the flesh that Tamura Tajirō envisioned through his work. In doing this, Lawrence situated his work as a champion of liberty against the state pressures that sought to censor erotic literature and deny sexual desire as a component of a moral society. The respected literary scholars who argued that *Lady Chatterley's Lover* was an important piece of literary art rather than an obscene publication were, in effect, taking this idea through to its logical conclusion by seeking to undermine the

³⁰ *Chinpu na Seiyoku no Tetsugaku, Abe Shinnosuke-shi no Shōgen (Dai 7kai Kōban)*, (*Mainichi Shinbun Yūkan*, (June 22, 1951)

³¹ *Chatarei ha Saikou Bungaku, Yoshida Kenichi-shi no Shōgen (Dai 10kai Kōban)*, (*Mainichi Shinbun Yūkan*, (July 14, 1951)

prosecution's attempts to assert state control by appealing to the Hicklin model. The court faced a decision as to whether recognized artistic merit of a work negated any "harmful" elements that might corrupt society.

In its decision, the lower court ruled that the book itself was not obscene, but that Koyama had marketed the book as being obscene and that several passages approached the level of pornography. Based on those findings, the court found Koyama guilty of violating Article 175 and fined him 250,000 yen. Because Itō translated the book and was not directly involved in the marketing and distribution of *Lady Chatterley's Lover*, the court found him to be not in violation of the code. Both the defense and the prosecution appealed the lower court decision to the Tokyo High Court. The defense argued that because the court ruled that the book was not obscene, Koyama's fine was unjustly given. Conversely, the prosecution believed that the translator should also be fined for his role in bringing *Lady Chatterley's Lover* to the public. The Tokyo High Court handed its decision down on March 13, 1952 upholding the lower court's verdict on Koyama, but overturning the lower court's decision concerning Itō Sei and fining him 100,000 yen. The court decided that though Itō did not participate in the actual publication and distribution of the book, he understood that Koyama intended to offer his translation for sale to the public and was therefore a participant in the distribution of obscene literature. The defense then appealed the issue to the Supreme Court.³²

Whereas the Tokyo District Court and the Tokyo High Court were both institutions that predated the Occupation, the Japanese Supreme Court was another of the many non-indigenous structures of democracy erected during the Occupation. Established by the 1947 Constitution, the Supreme Court replaced the former Court of Cassation, which was the legal arm of the imperial house, and which had been empowered by the Meiji Constitution of 1889. The new Supreme

³² Maki, *Court and Constitution in Japan*, 3

Court would be cut off from the influence of the throne and designed as an entity of checks and balances modeled significantly after the United States' own version. The new constitution outlined the fledgling Supreme Court's power in Article 76 stating, "All judges shall be independent in the exercise of their conscience and shall be bound only by this Constitution and the laws," indicating its role as the interpreter of law and defender of the new constitution.³³ By separating the Supreme Court from the imperial house and the legislative Diet, Occupation authorities attempted to create a judicial system that would run without ideological pressure from other governing bodies.

For the Supreme Court, the Lady Chatterley trial was much more than a simple interpretation of the applicability of obscenity law. Indeed, the case was an opportune chance for the court to clarify the ambiguity of Article 175 and set a Japanese standard against which subsequent obscenity cases would be judged. More importantly, the Chatterley case gave the court an opportunity to define its own role in the public morality debate and, in doing so, create a Japanese-centered litmus test conducive to establishing and protecting concepts of a moral society within Japan's postwar democratic structure. The Supreme Court had the opportunity to establish its authority to mold concepts of sexual morality free from any harmful influence from the west, but, ironically, within the context of an imported body constructed by a foreign-bestowed constitution.

Ultimately, the Supreme Court upheld the Tokyo High Court's decision when it passed judgment on March 13, 1957, but in doing so it laid out a clear set of standards against which future obscenity cases could be judged. The majority decision, penned by Justice Tanaka Kotaro, took a step-by-step approach to addressing the defense's appeal. Immediately, the court conceded that D.H. Lawrence was an author of importance in English literature and that, when

³³ de Bary, *Sources of Japanese Tradition*, Vol 2, 1035

taken as a whole, *Lady Chatterley's Lover* was a work of artistic merit. Tanaka describes Lawrence as possessing “artistic and literary skill” that illuminates England’s “breadth of...culture,” but also notes that Lawrence “expressed his own conviction, which tends to be reformative and opposed to traditional concepts.”³⁴ Tanaka foreshadows his later analysis by acknowledging the artistry, but juxtaposing it against Lawrence’s ideological tendency toward criticism and reform on the other. This is a key element of the decision as it establishes from the outset that the court positively viewed the mechanics of the book as a work of art, but that the ideological framework that encased those mechanics was distasteful in the eyes of the court. He writes that Lawrence’s ideology “denies the traditional (or what [Lawrence] calls puritanical) code, morality and concept of sex that are approved not only in his own country but all others as well.”³⁵ By appealing to a sense of universality, Tanaka could downplay the subjective nature of defining obscenity by justifying his decision on the basis of a perceived natural boundary inherent in humanity and not just present in Japan.

Tanaka, however, was careful not to give the impression that the court based its decision on Lawrence’s worldview, however distasteful it may have been. Instead, he observed that,

whether or not the sexual code and world view advocated by Lawrence should be affirmed is a question relating to the areas of morality, philosophy, religion, and education, and such matter, and even though the conclusion is reached that they are antimoral and unedifying, it is impossible for that reason alone...to punish [its] sale and distribution.³⁶

By dismissing Lawrence’s personal ideology as being beyond the jurisdiction of the court, the Supreme Court aligned its rhetoric with Article 21 of the new constitution guaranteeing freedom of expression. Instead, the court insisted that its job in the Chatterley case was to determine whether portions of the work violated the existing obscenity law.

³⁴ Maki, *Court and Constitution in Japan*, 5

³⁵ *Ibid.*, 6

³⁶ *Ibid.*, 6

In some regard, the court's stance was predictable. After all, Article 21 of the constitution was not on trial, but rather the applicability of Article 175 of the Penal Code to *Lady Chatterley's Lover*. The defense asked the court to clarify the legal definition of obscenity in order to set a standard upon which publications may be judged. In actuality, the defense envisioned its request as a means to illuminate the subjective and inherently slippery nature of defining obscenity. In the end, however, the Supreme Court actually offered a definition designed to codify obscenity for a sovereign Japan: "In order for a writing to be obscene, it is required that it cause the arousal and stimulation of sexual desire, or offend the sense of shame, or run counter to proper concepts of sexual morality."³⁷ Tanaka hinges the definition of obscenity on items that cause a sense of shame. The decision recognizes that sexual desire itself is not obscene as it is a naturally occurring impulse found in humans and animals alike for the procreation of their species. What separates the two, Judge Tanaka argues, is the presence of the sense of shame in humans. Moreover, he goes on to say that within global societies, the sex act is not performed in public and that even in "uncivilized societies" the unfettered exposure of genitalia is generally forbidden to demonstrate that a universal line all humans draw between the sexually obscene and non-obscene exists.³⁸ This line, when crossed, invokes human shame, which serves to "[contribute] to the maintenance of order and morality in respect to sex."³⁹ The court argues that obscenity, however, removes that barrier of shame and makes humankind aware of only the animalistic sexual desire and, therefore, is threatening to the "proper concepts of sexual morality" indicated in his obscenity definition.

In attempting to codify the standard for judging artistic works to be obscene, the Supreme Court defined obscenity in ambiguous terms that, like the wording in Article 175 of the Penal

³⁷ Maki, *Court and Constitution in Japan*, 7

³⁸ *Ibid.*, 7

³⁹ *Ibid.*, 8

Code and Great Britain's Hicklin model, left room for interpretation by Japanese authorities. Even Judge Tanaka acknowledges the difficulty in determining concepts such as "proper concepts of sexual morality" for an entire society. To combat this, he argues, "It cannot be denied that in every society it is recognized that there are limits which must not be overstepped and that there are norms that must be generally observed."⁴⁰ To support this, he returns to the notion that the sex act is universally accepted as a "nonpublic" phenomenon. The frank and explicit descriptions of intercourse in *Lady Chatterley's Lover* remove the nonpublic veil that should shroud the act to bring carnality into the open to be consumed by the public. It is by applying this understanding of obscenity that the court deemed Lawrence's novel obscene and a threat to the moral health of the Japanese populace.

The most important development to come out of the *Lady Chatterley's Lover* trial was not the codification of a legal definition of obscenity, though this definition continues to be applied to obscenity cases today. Even more significant was that the Supreme Court's decision restored the power of the state originally granted under the Meiji-era publication laws to determine what constitutes "proper concepts of sexual morality." On the one hand, Judge Tanaka established that in distinguishing obscenity from non-obscenity, the standard upon which the court must make a decision was based on "prevailing ideas of society," but argued that these "are not the sum of the understanding of separate individuals and are not a mean value of such understanding; they are a collective understanding that transcends both. They cannot be rejected by separate individuals who hold to an understanding opposed to them."⁴¹ Judge Tanaka's invocation of the "prevailing ideas of society" as the standard for sexual morality allowed the court to promote the perception that its stance was malleable over time to coincide with the transformative nature of societal

⁴⁰ Maki, *Court and Constitution in Japan*, 10

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 9

concepts of proper sexual morality. However, his decision also rejects that Japanese society's prevailing views always embrace "proper" sexual morals. Conceivably, Japanese society may cross over that line of obscenity that the court argued existed universally and even though the prevailing ideas of society say differently, obscenity would still exist:

Even though the ethical sense of a substantial majority of the people were paralyzed and truly obscene matters were not recognized as obscene, the courts would have to guard society against moral degeneration in accordance with the norms of the prevailing social ideas, which are the ideas of sound men of good sense. After all, neither the courts nor the law must always and necessarily affirm social realities. They must confront evil and corruption with a critical attitude and must play a clinical role.⁴²

With this decision, the Supreme Court reserved for the Japanese judicial system the power to decide what is obscene, and therefore harmful to society, without consideration of social standards of acceptability at any given time. Decisive and regulatory power, then, resided solely with the courts and not the people, empowering courts to enforce the judicial interpretation of sexual morality upon a society that might overstep the bounds of what the court viewed as acceptable if governed only by the "prevailing ideas of society."

D.H. Lawrence, Japan, and the Language of Vulgarly

Despite Judge Tanaka's insistence that D.H. Lawrence's personal dogma was not on trial, that he includes his personal distaste for Lawrence's ideology in his written decision brings to the forefront an issue that extends beyond the misty boundaries of obscenity toward a greater threat to Japanese society. Tanaka, having reserved the right for the Supreme Court to act as the definer and protector of the societal good, admitted in his decision that the definition of the "prevailing views of society" lay in the conscience of the individual judge.⁴³ In the case of *Lady Chatterley's Lover*, sexuality, though playing an important role in communicating Lawrence's own views of

⁴² Maki, *Court and Constitution in Japan*, 10

⁴³ *Ibid.*, 9

society, in many respects takes a secondary role to larger themes, namely the decay of modern society under the leadership of politicians and intellectuals who sought to control the body and contain its desires.

The plot of *Lady Chatterley's Lover* is simple enough. It takes place in England in the aftermath of World War I. The heroine, Constance (Connie) Chatterley, marries Clifford Chatterley in 1917 during his leave from the army. Within six months, Clifford returns to Constance's care wounded and paralyzed from the waist down. In his impotence, Clifford loses interest in the pleasures of the flesh and turns his attention to writing and managing his inherited estate, Wragby, and his family's coalmines. Constance's solitude grows and she often engages in extramarital love affairs with Clifford's visitors in the house, but none satisfy her until she meets Clifford's hireling, the Wragby groundskeeper Mellors. They embark on a torrid love affair until Constance inevitably becomes pregnant and decides to leave Clifford and his books for Mellors and his passion.

In the trial, the court judged Lawrence's explicit descriptions of the sex act between Constance and Mellors to be obscene. Judge Tanaka writes:

These scenes run counter to the principle of the nonpublic nature of the sex act and offend the sense of shame to the extent that one would be reluctant to read them aloud in a public meeting, to say nothing of a family gathering. Also, in respect to their effect on both individuals and society, it must be recognized that they are of an order to arouse and stimulate sexual desire and to run counter to good concepts of sexual morality.⁴⁴

In the decision, it is the publicness of the sex act, that is its frank presence within Lawrence's prose, was the source of the reader's shame. Yet, even in expurgated, and acceptably non-obscene, versions of the novel, the sex act itself is never wiped clean from the page, but rather publishers replaced the language used to describe the sex act with less explicit wording. The expurgated version published by Martin Sellers in 1930, for example, softened Lawrence's use of

⁴⁴ Maki, *Court and Constitution in Japan*, 11

vulgar language by replacing it with commonplace vernacular. After the trial, Itō Sei based his own expurgated translation on the Sellers version to soften the explicitness and adhere to the new definition of obscenity. An example of this occurs during an episode when Constance stays the night with Mellors in his cabin. The unexpurgated version reads:

Yes, I do believe in something. I believe in being warm-hearted. I believe especially in being warm-hearted in love, in fucking with a warm heart. I believe if men could fuck with warm hearts, and the women take it warm-heartedly, everything would come all right. It's all this cold-hearted fucking that is death and idiocy.⁴⁵

The Sellers expurgated version offers the same passage as:

Yes, I do believe in something. I believe in being warm-hearted. I believe especially in being warm-hearted in love, in loving with a warm heart. I believe if men could love with warm hearts, and the women take it warm-heartedly, everything would come all right. It's all this cold-hearted loving that is death and idiocy.⁴⁶

Here, the obscenity lay in the words used to describe the sex act in the context of conversation.

The passage communicates Mellors' words discussing the value he puts on the sex act, rather than a frank narration of Mellors and Constance engaged in intercourse. The intention for Mellors' soliloquy does not seem to be aimed at enticing the reader to feel sexual arousal, but rather serves as the mouthpiece for D.H. Lawrence's personal ideology. Despite Judge Tanaka's affirmation against it, judging Mellors' spoken words to be obscene served to censor and soften Lawrence's worldview along with its explicit language. Lawrence discussed the ideological intent of his 1929 novel in an explanatory short essay titled "A Propos of *Lady Chatterley's Lover*" that he published following the global uproar over *Lady Chatterley's Lover*. Aiming at English society, he laments the severance of the mind from the body by arguing, "Culture and civilization have taught us to separate the reactions" and claiming "we need, very sincerely, to

⁴⁵ D.H. Lawrence, *Lady Chatterley's Lover*, (New York: Bantam Classics, 2007), 226

⁴⁶ Kuramochi, *Chatarei Fūjin no Saiban*, 34

keep a connection."⁴⁷ Instead, British society's focus on purposeful compartmentalization of the body's desires (what Lawrence calls the "Puritan hush! hush!"), has brought a falseness to humanity such that,

We are today, creatures whose active emotional self has no real existence, but is all reflected downwards from the mind. Our education from the start has *taught* us a certain range of emotions, what to feel and what not to feel, and how to feel the feelings we allow ourselves to feel. All the rest is just non-existent.⁴⁸

To Lawrence, the body had become subservient to the mind when they should be equal halves of the same coin.

In his paralysis and consequent impotence, Clifford's inability to perform sexually and, indeed, physically experience sexual pleasure at all is a symbolic embodiment of Lawrence's view of society: "He is a pure product of our civilization, but he is the death of the great humanity of the world."⁴⁹ Clifford's mind has literally been severed from the sexual parts of his body. He is left with no choice, then, but to put his efforts into developing his mind and to look upon sex as unimportant. Clifford asks Constance, "After all, *do* these temporary excitements matter? Isn't the whole problem of life the slow building up of an integral personality, through the years?"⁵⁰ Clifford dismisses sex as nothing more than a temporary spasm of excitement and favors instead the creation of an intellectual personality cultivated by a lifetime of pruning. Indeed, through her close interaction with Clifford throughout their married life, Constance, too, began to view sex as unimportant, even repulsive. During an early encounter with Mellors, Constance thought to herself, "Yes, this is love, this ridiculous bouncing of the buttocks, and the wilting of the poor insignificant, moist penis...after all, the moderns were right when they felt

⁴⁷ D.H. Lawrence, "A Propos of Lady Chatterley's Lover," collected in *Lady Chatterley's Lover*, (New York, Bantam Classics, 2007), 337

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 339

⁴⁹ Lawrence, *A Propos of Lady Chatterley's Lover*, 366

⁵⁰ Lawrence, *Lady Chatterley's Lover*, 46

contempt for the performance; for it was a performance."⁵¹ It is this dismissal of sex by both Constance and Clifford that Lawrence seeks to reproach. To him, the mind without a balanced connection to the body is counterfeit:

The body's life is the life of sensations and emotions. The body feels real hunger, real thirst, real joy in the sun or the snow, real pleasure in the smell of roses or the look of a lilac bush; real anger, real sorrow, real love, real tenderness, real warmth, real passion, real hate, real grief.⁵²

By relying on the intellectual mind to push the body and its sexuality toward a shameful, animalistic purpose, the mind cannot truly experience the "real" emotions felt by the body. In short, without an open communication between mind and body, Lawrence argues that all the mind creates through its subjugation of the body is false. Metaphorically, then, society and its future are also false as long as sexuality remains governed by negative social stigmas

Lawrence argues, however, that the redemption of society lay in the true exploration of sexuality utilizing both body and the mind harmoniously. To him, society's future can be made real through honest recognition of the phallus as both a sexual device and the source of society's future through procreation. He takes aim, specifically, at precisely the sort of censorship that Japan's Supreme Court endorses in *Koyama vs. Japan*. Lawrence writes, "That ghastly crudity of seeing in sex nothing but a functional act and a certain fumbling with clothes is, in my opinion, a low degree of barbarism, savagery...we shall never free the phallic reality from the 'uplift' taint till we give it its own phallic language, and use the obscene words."⁵³ Perhaps more accurately, Lawrence implies that the sex act, no matter how much Judge Tanaka's "prevailing notions of society" may try to force it behind closed doors and out of the public view, is at its very core an act that defies intellectual attempts to soften it, hence his choice of descriptive vulgarities like

⁵¹ Lawrence, *Lady Chatterley's Lover*, 188

⁵² Lawrence, *A Propos of Lady Chatterley's Lover*, 341

⁵³ *Ibid.*, 346-367

fuck, cunt, balls, and arse. Instead, acknowledging its importance for the continuation of humanity as well as its inherent pleasure serves to reconnect the body and the mind into one harmonious organ. Continued attempts to favor the mind over the body, pretend the sex act is nothing more than a necessary evil, and deny humanity's animalistic sexual nature guarantees only that society will continue in its falsehood. Ironically, Judge Tanaka pointed to Lawrence's embrace of base animalistic desire as unbefitting humanity and on that basis judged the *Chatterley* book to be obscene; but Lawrence had preemptively labeled acts such as the Supreme Court decision as being akin to animalistic barbarism that further contributes to the disconnect between body and mind. If Lawrence's criticism for England could be applied to Japan, Tanaka's majority decision signaled Japan's acquiescence to a false future where the mind would continue to be severed from the body.

The implications of censoring D.H. Lawrence's work, and by extension his ideology, to protect the "prevailing notions of society" become even more intriguing considering that much of Lawrence's worldview was echoed by Tamura Taijirō in *The Gate of Flesh*. Both authors attack the notion of "ideas" trying to limit the body's importance in defining humanity and argue that only understanding the "real" emotions of fleshly desire could save society. Curiously, while *Lady Chatterley's Lover* suffered under appeals and judicial scrutiny for seven years, Tamura's *The Gate of Flesh* received no such treatment under Article 175. In fact, within months of its publication in 1947, Tamura refitted his novel for a successful stage production in the Shinjuku ward of Tokyo where, by August 1948, the Teitoza Stage Group had performed the play more than 700 times, complete with topless actresses performing Maya's lynching scene.⁵⁴ Later, the novel again found resurrection through a film by acclaimed director Suzuki Seijin in 1962 and

⁵⁴ Kōshi Shimokawa, *Seifūzokushi Nenpyō: Shōwa Sengo, 1945-1989*, (Tokyo: Kawade Shobo Shinsha, 2007), 31

again by Nishimura Shōgorō in 1977. The barriers erected by Japanese authorities around D.H. Lawrence's novel were never extended to the work of his Japanese counterpart.

Despite their parallel worldviews, the reason behind the different treatments of these works lay in the context in which the authors produced their texts. Lawrence wrote *Lady Chatterley's Lover* in the immediate aftermath of World War I and used the consequences of war, through Clifford's war injury and ultimate impotence, to criticize English society for both its past leading up to the war, and its future rebuilding out of it. In Japan's own destruction in the wake of World War II, Lawrence's criticism of his native England posed a threat to the Japanese state's attempts to maintain discretionary control over obscenity and the public good as it advocated social reconnection of the body and mind. *The Gate of Flesh*, however, took place and was published in the shadow of Japan's defeat and while Japan was still under military occupation by the Allied Forces. Maya joining the group of prostitutes for survival must have resonated greatly with a Japanese society that had experienced food shortages, homelessness, and overpopulation due to post-surrender repatriation. The circle of prostitutes could be consumed by Japanese readers as kindred spirits who struggled to survive by any means. Moreover, unlike *Lady Chatterley's Lover* wherein neither Constance nor Mellors fell victim to any great ills as a result of their coupling, hedonistic sex in Tamura's novel received swift punishment by the makeshift society of prostitutes. Despite Maya's glee in her sexual awakening, her punishment served as the sort of corrective that the Supreme Court sought to exemplify in its decision to punish Lawrence's novel for obscenity.

Finally, the decision to label *Lady Chatterley's Lover* obscene and leave *The Gate of Flesh* untouched has roots in the origins of the two novels. Simply put, D.H. Lawrence was an outsider while Tamura Taijirō was Japanese. Tamura's ideology, though similar to Lawrence's,

could not be perceived as an outside threat to the newly sovereign Japan. In the context of Japan's surrender, subsequent occupation, democratization, demilitarization, and indeed the onset of a burgeoning sexually themed publication market made possible by the Civil Censorship Detachment, D.H. Lawrence represented an outside ideology that intended to reconnect the body and the mind of the reader, in this case Japanese citizens, ultimately empowering them to make their own decisions on notions of obscenity, sexuality, and the common good. Because of its foreign roots, *Lady Chatterley's Lover* offered an easier target for the Supreme Court to reaffirm state power over Japanese citizens while still working within the institutions of democracy imparted by the foreign occupiers. The Supreme Court saw *Lady Chatterley's Lover* as an example of unbridled hedonism replete with vulgar language and explicit sex that, unless put in check, carried the potential to entice Japanese readers into embracing a foreign-born ideology focusing on empowering the self at the expense of state power. This potential was too great for the court and Judge Tanaka's decision used its jurisdiction granted under Article 175 of the Penal Code to restore judicial power over obscene publications in a way that paralleled the powers enshrined in Meiji era publication codes. D.H. Lawrence's ideological invasion of Japan was stymied and punished by a reaffirmation of a Japanese power structure that predated the book itself.

Conclusion

Koyama vs. Japan shows that the perceived threat to society of *Lady Chatterley's Lover* was not, in fact, Lawrence's depictions of sexuality, but rather the possibility that the Japanese state would lose control over the regulation of sexuality and the Japanese government's strong movement to regain that control. Since Japan's surrender on August 15, 1945, erotic publications

began to flood the consumer market in the form of *kasutori* magazines and newspapers, prostitution underwent a substantial transformation from traditionally embraced licensed brothels to socially lamented gangs of streetwalkers, and Allied personnel and their appetites spread venereal diseases at alarming rates both within their own ranks and within domestic society. Under the conditions of an occupied Japan, the state felt its power over the determination of a healthy sexual society fade beneath the yoke of democracy and a free press.

The new SCAP press code abrogated the Meiji era publication laws that gave Japanese censors the power to filter obscene or anti-statist publications from the citizens. Instead, SCAP vested that power in the Civil Censorship Detachment, which generally left issues of sexuality, obscenity, and morality in publications to be dealt with by Japanese authorities. With consent from the CCD, publishers began offering sexual-themed publications numbering in the thousands. Despite the market saturation of erotica, Japanese authorities determinedly attempted to maintain regulatory control over sexuality during the Occupation era by applying Article 175 of the Penal Code to remove those elements deemed obscene under the Hicklin standard.

By bestowing a democratic constitution in 1947, but failing to root out seemingly contradictory elements in the Meiji Era penal code, SCAP left a difficult position for Japanese authorities concerning obscene publications. Article 21 of the constitution guarantees a free press and freedom of expression for the people of Japan, which appears to run counter to the functions of the state outlined in Article 175 of the Penal Code. To remedy this contradiction, the Lady Chatterley case asked the newly created Supreme Court to determine under what circumstances the penal code could be applied to sexually explicit publications and whether it upheld the democratic intent of the new constitution.

The resulting decision produced three important outcomes that continue to resonate today. First, the presiding chief justice, Tanaka Kotaro, ended the possibility of using the Hicklin standard by providing a new definition of obscenity upon which both *Lady Chatterley's Lover* and future explicit publications could be judged. Second, Tanaka decreed that Article 21 of the constitution was not absolute. Some forms of expression, including obscene expression, must be subject to censorship to protect society from malicious or blatantly harmful rhetoric. Finally, Tanaka's decision restored much of the Japanese state's role in defining the line that society deemed “acceptable” for sexually explicit publications by appealing to an imaginary collective standard. In doing this, the judicial branch empowered itself to control obscene publications in much the same way the Meiji era publication ordinances empowered the police. In both instances, Japanese authorities removed the decisive power over morally acceptable publications from the citizen and firmly entrenched that power within the hands of the state.

Conclusion

British Sociologist Jeffrey Weeks contends that “the very mobility of sexuality, its chameleon-like ability to take many guises and forms, so that what for one might be a source of warmth and attraction, for another might be one of fear and hate, makes it a peculiarly sensitive conductor of cultural influences, and hence of social and political divisions.”¹ Weeks’ view argues for the study of sexuality within the context of individual societies without burdening research with universalist notions of what is proper and what is deviant. This dissertation has attempted to explore the effects of two societies’ constructs of sexuality coexisting within the context of a victorious occupying power and a defeated occupied foe. It shows that sexuality is a useful lens for understanding the power dynamics between the two entities by revealing how that power relationship shaped both perceptions and actions stemming from those perceptions during Japan’s time under occupation and into the early years of its postwar sovereignty.

This study has argued that Japanese political actors believed that the Allied Occupation posed a threat to the stability of Japan’s domestic constructs of sexuality and moved to mitigate that threat through legislation, adjudication, and the promotion of domestic constructs of sexuality to children through education. Whether through direct social reform handed down from Occupation authorities or through the behavior of SCAP personnel clashing with Japanese constructs of sexual decorum, the Occupation held the potential to disrupt and transform Japan’s very social order. At the time of surrender, what would actually happen during the Occupation was uncertain, but as early as August 18, 1945 the imperial government moved to mobilize and finance the Recreation and Amusement Association (R.A.A.), a brothel system catering to the Occupation personnel, as a means to protect the general female populace from potentially widespread sexual violence. Since only Japan’s loss of sovereignty after surrender was assured at

¹ Jeffrey Weeks, *Sexuality*, (London: Routledge, 1986), 11

Potsdam, Japanese politicians saw little choice but to adopt policies meant to contain the spread of foreign sexuality to the greater population as much as possible both to protect Japanese citizens and promote order, to varying degrees of success.

The Recreation and Amusement Association, for instance, successfully steered Occupation personnel to its various brothel doors while sexual violence perpetrated on non-R.A.A. civilians remained relatively low. To the Japanese government and the R.A.A. proprietors, the intended bulwark against encroaching foreign sexuality seemed to work as planned. For SCAP, however, the number of personnel frequenting the R.A.A. brothels and the nature of Japan's traditional licensed prostitution system raised concerns that R.A.A. prostitutes worked against their will to fulfill the terms of their legally binding contracts. Fearing that indentured prostitution would undermine SCAP's mission to democratize Japan, Douglas MacArthur ordered the Japanese government to abolish the licensing system within only a matter of months following his arrival.

Unwilling to fully dictate how Japan would approach prostitution, MacArthur's directive, SCAPIN 642 outlawed only licensed prostitution and effectively legalized all other forms of the practice. For Japanese authorities the directive confirmed their suspicions that SCAP would negatively influence Japan's sexuality as the licensed prostitution system had long held public support, but Japanese society tended to frown upon streetwalking prostitution. Secondly, it created a new problem for Japanese authorities as they tried to dam the rapidly rising numbers of streetwalking *pan pan* girls. Uncontrolled prostitution threatened public order by bringing the buying and selling of sex into the public eye, where previously licensed brothels had hidden sexuality behind closed doors and walls. Traditional brothels continued in an unlicensed form, offering the same inconspicuous options for Japanese men, but the *pan pan* girls focused on

Occupation personnel as their customer base, further correlating their public presence with the coming of the foreign occupiers. Despite several attempts to curtail the *pan pan* girls, such as the Venereal Disease Prevention Law, the *pan pan* problem would not be resolved until after the Occupation. In 1956 the Japanese Diet passed the Anti-Prostitution Law in 1956 establishing the baseline upon which sexual play may be purchased for post-Occupation Japan. That the Diet passed the law after SCAP had dissolved implies a metaphorical reaffirmation of a domestic Japanese construction of sexuality as a corrective against what legislators perceived as a blight that plagued Japan under occupation.

Until that blight could be cured; however, politicians, educators, and parents alike professed concerns that public transactions between *pan pan* girls and SCAP personnel exposed Japanese children to improper displays of sexuality. To undermine its influence, a group of concerned politicians and educators formed the Council on Purity Education to establish a nationwide sexual education curriculum promoting chastity, healthy coeducational fraternization, and preservation of Japanese racial purity. It was an idealistic aim and no real concrete curriculum could be developed out of the Council due to a number of internal disagreements and a discernable lack of knowledgeable teachers to shape and implement the plan. Still, the Council on Purity Education represents another way in which Japanese authorities responded to a perceived threatening foreign sexuality in order to mitigate its influence on domestic constructs of sexuality.

In truth, the many attempts to contain foreign sexual encroachment during the Occupation years point to a certain liberalization of sexuality in Japan. This is partially due to the ambiguity in power roles between SCAP and the Japanese government. SCAP seemed particularly unwilling to interfere too heavy handedly in social affairs unless they bled into the

grater goals of the Occupation, as in the case of Japan's licensed prostitution system, while the Japanese government was restrained from enacting policy that might interfere with the operational goals of SCAP. For the greater Japanese populace, the "cracks" between the two power sources allowed for a vibrant discourse on sexuality to emerge, mostly through an explosion in erotic magazines and newspapers that passed through SCAP publishing censors unhindered. No longer veiled behind puritan notions of decorum, sexuality became a widespread topic of discussion for authors and readers alike. Coupled with the legalization of streetwalking prostitution, the proliferation of erotic serials brought sexuality more into the public eye than at any other moment in Japan's modern history.

For many politicians, that liberalization served to reinforce pre-Occupation notions that along with SCAP's political reforms, Japan's constructs of sexuality would also be a target of the Occupation to remake Japan's sexuality along with broader political and social goals. After all, it was SCAPIN 642 that allowed the *pan pan* girls to operate legally in Japan and SCAP censors gave permission to erotic presses to move forward with publication despite the presence of Japan's penal code that criminalized "obscene" publications. It would not be until the *Lady Chatterley's Lover* series of court cases ending in 1957 that the Japanese government would succeed in throttling back the access to erotica by defining the boundaries of obscenity. I have argued that the 1957 Supreme Court case ultimately labeling *Lady Chatterley's Lover* as obscene was a reaction to a culmination of several currents of sexual liberalization rooted in the dual-power structure of the Allied Occupation of Japan. In short, despite the government's attempts to mitigate foreign influence on Japanese sexuality, Japan's sexual environment had grown out of control under SCAP. The Chatterley verdict, along with the Anti-Prostitution Law passed the

previous year, symbolized the reaffirmation of sovereign Japanese power over sexuality post-SCAP and set the foundation upon which Japanese sexuality would be defined for the future.

Epilogue

In an attempt to make amends for his recommendation that American troops in Okinawa frequent "the legally accepted adult entertainment industry in Japan" more often in order prevent sexual crime against Okinawan women, Osaka Mayor Hashimoto Tōru claimed his comments represented the feeling of the citizens of Okinawa. He said that their anger toward American troops and their sexual misconduct upon Okinawan civilians had "reached its boiling point" and, in that context, he felt compelled to speak out about the crisis. Peculiarly, while he did not deny that he recommended increased brothel use for American troops, he denied that he condoned prostitution:

From my strong sense of crisis, I strongly hope that the U.S. army will use all possible measures to bring a heartless minority of soldiers under control. When expressing this strong hope, I used the phrase "the legally accepted adult entertainment industry in Japan." When this phrase was translated into English, it led to the false report that I recommended prostitution--which is illegal under Japanese law.²

The statement seems oxymoronic, but technically he is correct. Japanese law simultaneously allows for a vibrant sex trade to exist, while criminalizing prostitution. It is a slippery slope that owes much of its existence to the years during the Allied Occupation of Japan, the sexual environment accompanying those years, and the reforms during and after the Occupation.

Though the Occupation ended in 1952, at least for mainland Japan³, by 1957 Japanese reformers determined how the nation would approach domestic expressions of sexuality as a sovereign nation rehabilitated from its fascist mistake. With political power restored to Japan's governing bodies, its legislators, judges, and activists worked to enact reform on issues surrounding sexuality to exemplify that the nation had, indeed, been rehabilitated and that it would choose reforms that aligned Japan with the world's democratic nations. By 1952, reform

² Tōru Hashimoto, "Statement," *The Asahi Shinbun*, (May 27, 2013), http://ajw.asahi.com/article/behind_news/politics/AJ201305270012

³ The Occupation of Okinawa would not officially end until 1972.

of Japan's education system had removed fascist and religious dogma with plans aimed at establishing effective sex education curricula as part of the ongoing discourse. By 1956, Japan had passed a nationwide prohibition on prostitution, a social problem that dominated the Occupation era, causing particular friction between occupied and occupier. By 1957, Japan's new Supreme Court had codified a Japanese definition of obscenity with the intent to deter publication of the sort of sexually explicit materials that had flooded the Japanese market under SCAP's censors.

That these reforms set the tone for post-Occupation Japan cannot be overstated, yet when examining them more broadly, elements of Japanese sexuality seemed to change very little during the Occupation years. If the intent, as I have argued, of Japanese reform was to resist and mitigate perceived foreign influence on Japanese sexuality, the fact that post-Occupation Japan shared many characteristics with its pre-Occupation version points to some success in those mitigation efforts. The sex trade continued to exist legally in Japan with streetwalking prostitutes having either moved out of the profession or having sought employment in newly licensed sex trade establishments; Post-Chatterley filmmakers and publishers media continued to release sexually explicit material without fear of prosecution; The Ministry of Education had failed to decide on a strong, national curriculum for sex education leaving educators unprepared and, sometimes, unwilling to teach the topic. In this sense, Japan could maintain certain aspects of its prewar systems, namely the ability to frequent brothels and consume erotica, while still claiming that reforms had successfully remade Japan from a fascist threat to global peace into a moral democratic nation.

PROSTITUTION

As I have shown, the Anti-Prostitution Law of 1956 prohibited prostitution, but only by narrowly defining “sex” as penetrative vaginal intercourse. The law itself allowed Japan to align itself with the moral views of other nations that had passed national prohibitions against prostitution. However, the wording of the law defining sex as strictly vaginal intercourse left a giant loophole through which other forms of sexual gratification remain legal, allowing the widespread commodification of sex within the context of a national ban on prostitution. Furthermore, by defining prostitution in such a narrow way, Japanese legislators were free to reinstate a licensing (and taxation) system that simultaneously showed continuity with SCAPIN 642 by claiming that licensed prostitution, strictly defined, remained illegal, and created new businesses that would be licensed and regulated as “entertainment” establishments, not houses of prostitution. Such establishments are relegated under the “Businesses Affecting Public Morals Regulation Law” (*Fūzoku Eigyō Torishimari Hō*) passed in 1948 that originally aimed at cafes, bars, and dance halls. Since its enactment and coinciding with the Anti-Prostitution Law in 1956, the Japanese Diet would revise the Public Morals Regulation Law several times over to incorporate the range of businesses that offer sexual services, but officially refrain from supplying vaginal intercourse on the menu. Anal sex, fellatio, breast play, BDSM, role plays, and any other non-coital sexual play remained legal as they did not meet the definition of “prostitution” under the law.

According to Article 2 of the Public Moral Regulation Law, proprietors looking to open an entertainment business that provided such sexual services, would need to apply to prefectural offices “for permission of business in accordance with the provisions of the municipal ordinance

of prefecture concerned.”⁴ Once permission was granted, proprietors were free to establish their business legally with the state regulating it to ensure that it remained in certain geographic areas zoned for those businesses, that it kept appropriate business hours, that it paid taxes, and that it held to the provisions of the Anti-Prostitution Law.

The variety of businesses that offered sexual services grew considerably since the 1956 Anti-Prostitution Law went into effect. Proprietors had to be creative to meet the sexual expectations of their customer base while still, in theory, keeping within limits of the law. In addition to the more familiar strip clubs and cabaret dance shows, postwar brothels included pink clubs (*pinku*), which offered fellatio with one or multiple partners; *estée* clubs (*esute*), which offered body massages with manual stimulation; and image clubs (*imekura*), which provide prostitutes in the customer’s choice of costume and allow fondling and fellatio.⁵

The exception to the rule was an entity called “soapland,” known as “Turkish baths” (*toruko*) until 1984 at which time protests by the Turkish Embassy forced a name change. Mark West shows that soaplands advertised bathing with prostitutes, nude massages, oral sex, manual sex, anal sex, and, often, full service intercourse. To circumvent the Anti-Prostitution Law, customers paid an entrance fee to the proprietor and then negotiated the menu of services privately with the prostitute. This system, in theory, insulated soapland proprietors from prosecution since they only received an entrance fee (as any public bath owner would) and not recompense for providing sexual services. The prostitute bore more risk by negotiating the terms under which vaginal intercourse could be purchased, but prosecution was very rare as the system

⁴ “‘*Fūzoku*’ Business Law,” *Materials Concerning Prostitution and its Control in Japan*, (Tokyo: Ministry of Justice, 1957), 52

⁵ This is just a small sampling of the kinds of legal sex services available in Japan.

made it more difficult to prove that a violation of the Anti-Prostitution Law occurred since the prostitute performs the acts within a private, legal business.⁶

Semantically speaking, prostitution remains illegal in Japan, and the origins of that prohibition lay in the Occupation years as a reaction to SCAPIN 642 and the subsequent proliferation of unlicensed streetwalking prostitutes. Semantics aside, a new form of licensed prostitution arose and continues to thrive in Japan's post-Occupation economy. Licensed prostitution generates on average 1.2 trillion yen annually or 0.2% of Japan's Gross National Product, according to Kadokura Takashi of the Dai-Ichi Life Research Institute.⁷

OBSCENITY

The Japanese Supreme Court's judgment on *Lady Chatterley's Lover* in 1957 set the standard upon which future obscenity trials would be tried. The Court defined legal obscenity for the nation in a way that mirrored the environment of sexuality during the Occupation, that is that public and, therefore, shameful displays of sexuality posed a threat to social morals. Publishing Lawrence's explicit descriptions of the sex act, and Itō Sei's faithful translation of them, brought the sex act into the public eye through the realism of their descriptions. Those depictions forced readers to feel a sense of shame in their animalistic desires stirred by those words, thus, as the Supreme Court ruled, the combination of a "public nature" and a "sense of shame" as necessary to legally determine the presence of obscenity. *Chatterley* was not simply an isolated case forgotten in the annals of Japanese law, but as Kirsten Cather argues, "later defense teams were forced to contend with the *Chatterley* precedent."⁸

⁶ Mark D. West, *Lovesick Japan: Sex, Marriage, Romance, Law*, (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2011) 150-151

⁷ Obi N.I. Ebbe and Dilip K. Das, eds., *Global Trafficking in Women and Children*, (Boca Raton: CRC Press, 2008), 52

⁸ Kirsten Cather, *The Art of Censorship in Postwar Japan*, (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2012), 67

As I have argued, the definition of obscenity is couched in vague terms that allow the state to determine what does and does not violate it on a case by case basis. In Japan, the legacy of *Lady Chatterley* may be that far from serving as the deterrent for publishing sexually explicit material, authors, filmmakers, and artists alike began to produce erotica for public consumption that tested the boundaries of what was considered “public” and what caused a “sense of shame” when consumed from the evolution of the film industry producing soft core “Pink Films;” to more explicit “Roman Porno” productions; to the rise of home video and the Internet; and the popularity of erotic comic books (*manga*); content producers would walk a tight line between the “public” and “private” nature of obscenity.

In film, an elaborate system of censorship developed, spearheaded by the Commission for the Administration of the Motion Picture Code of Ethics (Eirin) as the industry protectorate of obscenity laws. To ensure that the expanding market for pornographic films in post-Occupation Japan remained in-line with the *Chatterley* standard, filmmakers sent their materials to Eirin for censorship. Eirin would then blur any graphic depiction of pubic hair or genitals⁹ using mosaics to allow for the sex act to be observed by consumers, but without seeing the intercourse or the genitals themselves. As Jasper Sharp argues,

The constraints of screen censorship in Japan have kept the defining traits of hardcore pornography – that is the explicit genital depictions of penises...penetration scenes and labial ‘pink’ shots- barred from the films. Filmmakers have therefore been able to develop their own form of cinematic shorthand to elaborate more succinctly on the genre’s basic tenants.¹⁰

⁹ From the early 1990s, Eirin’s censorship has become more relaxed, causing initial shock by allowing pubic hair to be viewed, but now as long as genitalia are still obscured, obscenity seems to be absent.

¹⁰ Jasper Sharp, *Behind the Pink Curtain: The Complete History of Japanese Sex Cinema*, (Surrey, Fab Press, 2008), 27

Filmmakers could not rely on clear views of the sex act to depict intercourse, so they would need to allude to the sex act without each detail of it becoming public and, in theory, causing the sense of shame.

Anne Allison, however, argues that Eirin's mosaics serve to eroticize and fetishize the sex act further by implying that genitalia was a secret too dirty for consumers to view. She writes that:

The state has in fact endorsed and encouraged a sexual economy of a particular order, one that evades the state surveillance of public realism and therefore constructs the stimulation and simulation of sexuality as a fantasy nondependent on the graphic or visual display of genitalia.¹¹

The Eirin censor, then, leaves room for the viewer to imagine the explicit parts of the sex act obscured by the censors and, thus, the sex act at its basest form would exist not in the public eye causing a sense of shame, but rather in the private mind of the viewer. Therefore, censorship of genitalia, regardless of the context in which the sex act took place on screen, rendered the film not obscene under the *Chatterley* precedent.

Applications of *Chatterley* have been relatively sparse as very few print or film obscenity cases have been brought before the courts since the 1957 verdict, owing to both the effectiveness of industry censorship to circumvent the Court's definition of obscenity and its selective application by Japanese law enforcement. Nonetheless, *Chatterley's* legacy remains alive and well. In June 2005, the Tokyo High Court judged Japanese comic book (*manga*) publisher Kishi Motonori guilty of violating Article 175 of the penal code for distributing the adult *manga* "Honey Room" (*Misshitsu*) and fined him 1.5 million yen. The judgment marked the first time a *manga* had been prosecuted under Japan's obscenity laws.

¹¹ Anne Allison, *Permitted and Prohibited Desires: Mothers, Comics, and Censorship in Japan*, (Boulder, Westview Press, 1996), 150

Building on the precedent set by Eirin for motion pictures, *manga* artists often self-censored their work by either “whiting out” depictions of genitalia, or obscuring it with a gray mosaic. *Honey Room*, however, used a 10% fainter mosaic, making the genitalia more visible in comparison to other adult *manga* counterparts. Moreover, the judgment connects the obscene parts of the *manga* to its public nature, echoing the summary from the *Chatterley* verdict:

The depictions of genitals and coupling are by no means very distant from the real thing, but instead appeal to people’s emotions and senses...Therefore, we recognize that the depictions possess enough truthfulness to life and vividness that they bear a close resemblance to actual sex acts and scenes.¹²

The decision to prosecute *Honey Room* as opposed to scores of other adult *manga* and the subsequent guilty verdict demonstrates that, on one hand, sexually explicit material remains acceptable for public consumption within a certain context of censorship. On the other hand, the courts show no interest in deviating from the *Lady Chatterley* precedent as the *Honey Room* judgment parallels the *Chatterley* judgment 50 years prior and the courts remain the definer of the boundaries of obscenity and not the prevailing views of society.

SEX EDUCATION

As I have shown, the Committee for Purity Education failed to construct and present curricular guidelines to schools to incorporate sex education into their classes. Other areas of education, such as mathematics, science, and Japanese language, had strong guidelines and objectives decided by the Ministry of Education and passed along to Japanese schools nationwide. However, without comprehensive guidelines and a strategy for implementation from the Committee for Purity Education, the Ministry ultimately left instruction of sex education up to the discretion of individual schools, which, in turn, caused many schools to drop sexual

¹² *Japan vs. Kishi Motonori*, (Tokyo District Court, no. 3618, Jan. 13, 2004) as quoted in Kirsten Cather, *The Arts of Censorship in Postwar Japan*, 257

education from their curriculum altogether. Lack of strong direction from the Ministry of Education and the lack of training opportunities for teachers nationwide left the subject in limbo. Genard Castro-Vásquez argues that teachers and administration were uncomfortable with the subject because “intimacy is not an issue discussed in public, and schools are public places where sex talk seems to have no place.”¹³

Gerald Letendre argues that Japanese teachers seemed eager to teach sex education as many expressed concerns that young adolescents would turn to sexual play too early without the guidance of schools in the matter.¹⁴ Survey evidence suggests that the gap between sexual experimentation among Japan’s youth and their knowledge of safe practices has widened in recent years. A 1999 survey by the Japanese Association for Sex Education placed the average age at which both Japanese boys and girls to lose their virginity at sixteen.¹⁵ In contrast, surveys show that only 17.1% of Japanese 18-year olds had experienced sexual intercourse.¹⁶ Moreover, the Hiroshima University School of Medicine conducted three separate surveys from 1999, 2000, and 2001 respectively that revealed that among national university students, teenage couples, and high school students, condom usage declined with the increase in sexual partners. Only 43 percent of men with five or more partners used condoms where men with only a single partner used condoms 74 percent of the time.¹⁷ Finally, the *Japan Times* reported that a 1999 survey revealed that 23 percent of men and women believed that oral contraception offered substantial

¹³ Genard Castro-Vásquez, *In the Shadows: Sexuality, Pedagogy, and Gender Among Japanese Teenagers*, (Plymouth: Lexington Books, 2007), 111

¹⁴ Gerald Letendre, *Learning to Be Adolescent: Growing up in U.S. and Japanese Middle Schools* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000), 71

¹⁵ Alice Gordenker, “It’s Time to Say: Let’s talk about sex: babies,” *Japan Times* (Feb. 8, 2002).

¹⁶ Thomas Rohlen, *Japan’s High Schools* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983), 291

¹⁷ Yumi Wijers-Hasegawa, “Youth sex on the rise, as are serious infections,” *Japan Times*, Wednesday, June 19, 2002.

protection against HIV infection and a slightly higher percentage believed it would protect against other STD transmission.¹⁸

In stark contrast to the lack of access to educational materials about sex, Japanese youths overwhelmingly would like more frank discussion about sex education. The *Japan Times* reports in 2001 that “nearly 90 percent of young couples surveyed in Tokyo say they are dissatisfied with the sex education they receive at school and elsewhere, and feel adults should not hesitate to teach them how to avoid contracting sexually transmitted diseases, according to a health ministry study.”¹⁹ Castro-Vásquez’s work, in fact, demonstrates that peers and pornography represented the most common method in which Japanese youth learned about sex. No students cited their parents as viable sources for sex education,²⁰ despite the Committee for Purity Education’s insistence that parents and familial relations would play a strong role in education Japan’s youth about sex.

Just like the prewar and Occupation eras, postwar educators seemed at a loss on how to present sex education. Despite a clear need to offer frank and reliable information about birth control and the prevention of disease, few educators are comfortable teaching about private sexual matters in a public way. As one member of the Japan Teachers’ Union replied in defense of the school’s decision to drop sex education from its curriculum, “I don’t know how to talk about it in class.”²¹

Reform of issues surrounding sexuality both during and immediately after the Occupation created a complex and often ambiguous sexual environment in Japan to the extent that prominent politicians like Hashimoto Tōru could recommend that Americans use Japanese brothels more

¹⁸ Yumi Wijers-Hasegawa, “Youth sex on the rise, as are serious infections,” 125

¹⁹ “Many Youths Dissatisfied with Sex Education: Study,” *Japan Times*, (Aug. 21, 2001).

²⁰ Castro-Vasquez, *In the Shadows*, 132

²¹ Nicholas Bornoff, *Pink Samurai: an Erotic Exploration of Japanese Society* (London: Grafton, 1991), 113

frequently, but also state that prostitution was illegal in Japan. This dissertation has attempted to untangle some of the complexity by examining reforms, the perceptions driving those reforms, and the nature of agency within the context of a sexual environment perceived as “foreign” and threatening by Japan’s government. This study serves as a starting point rather than an ending, as Japanese sexuality remains an issue that shapes domestic identity, but increasingly contributes to perceptions of Japanese culture internationally as advances in media consumption through the Internet makes Japanese images of sexuality accessible to a global audience and deserves further study. In particular, I see a need for increased study of Japan’s role in global human trafficking issues, the relationship of sexuality to Japan’s current demographic crisis, and attitudes toward prostitution and birth control within the context of the global HIV/AIDS epidemic.

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